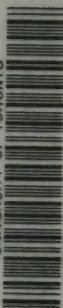
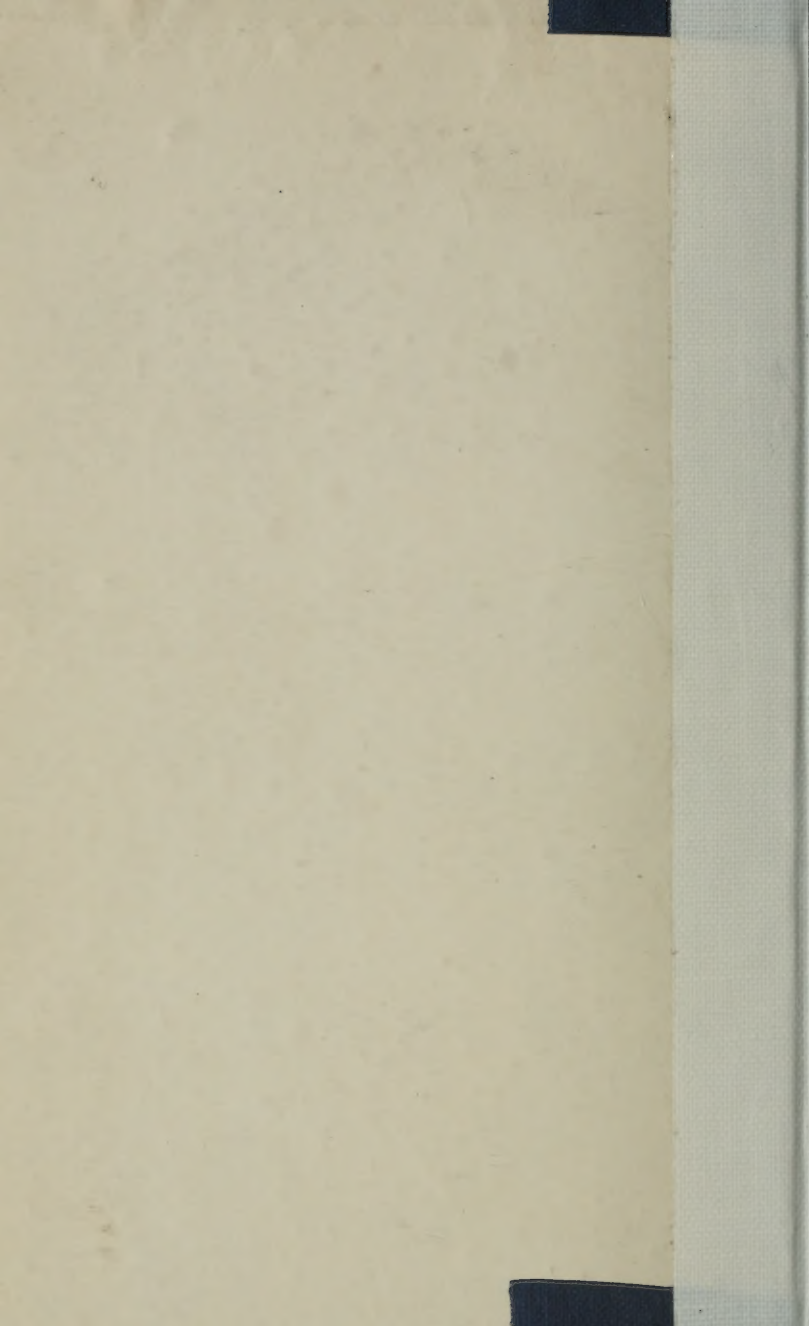
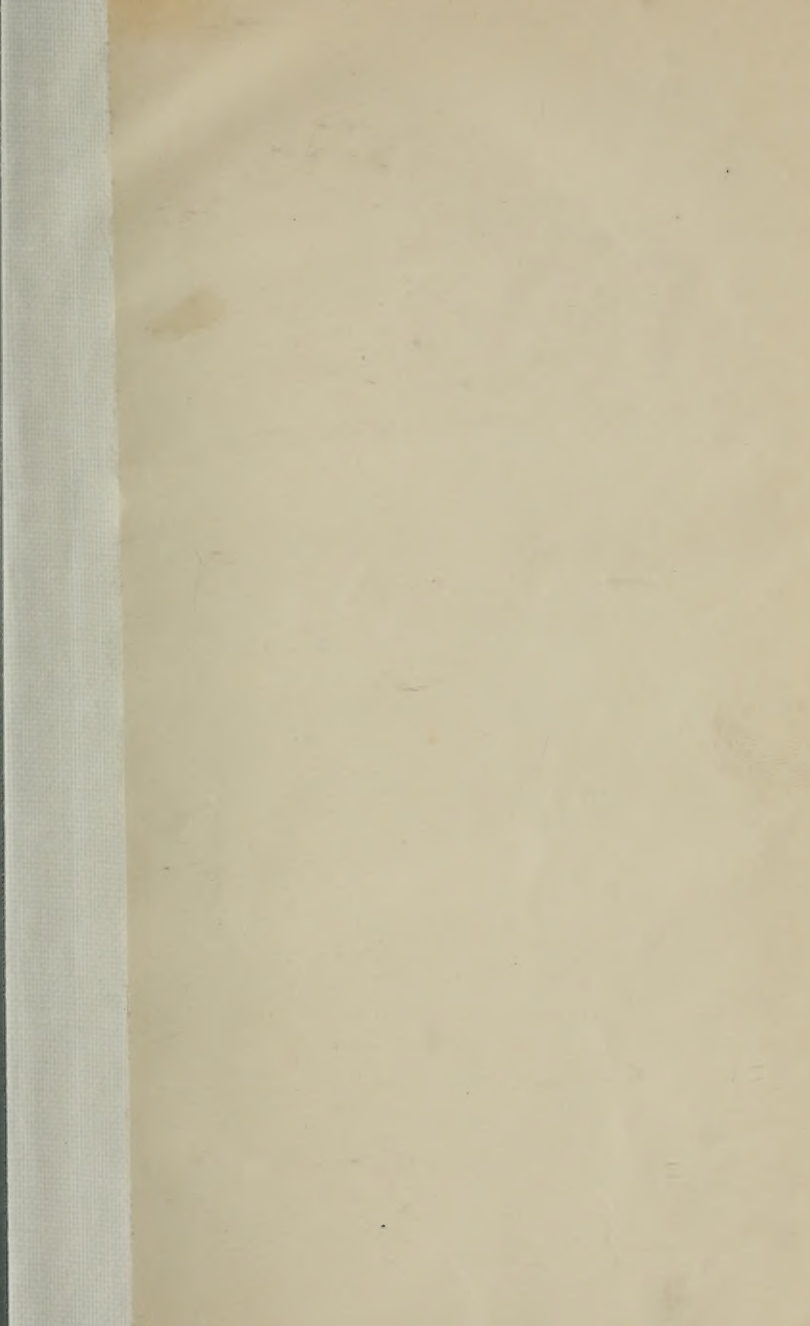


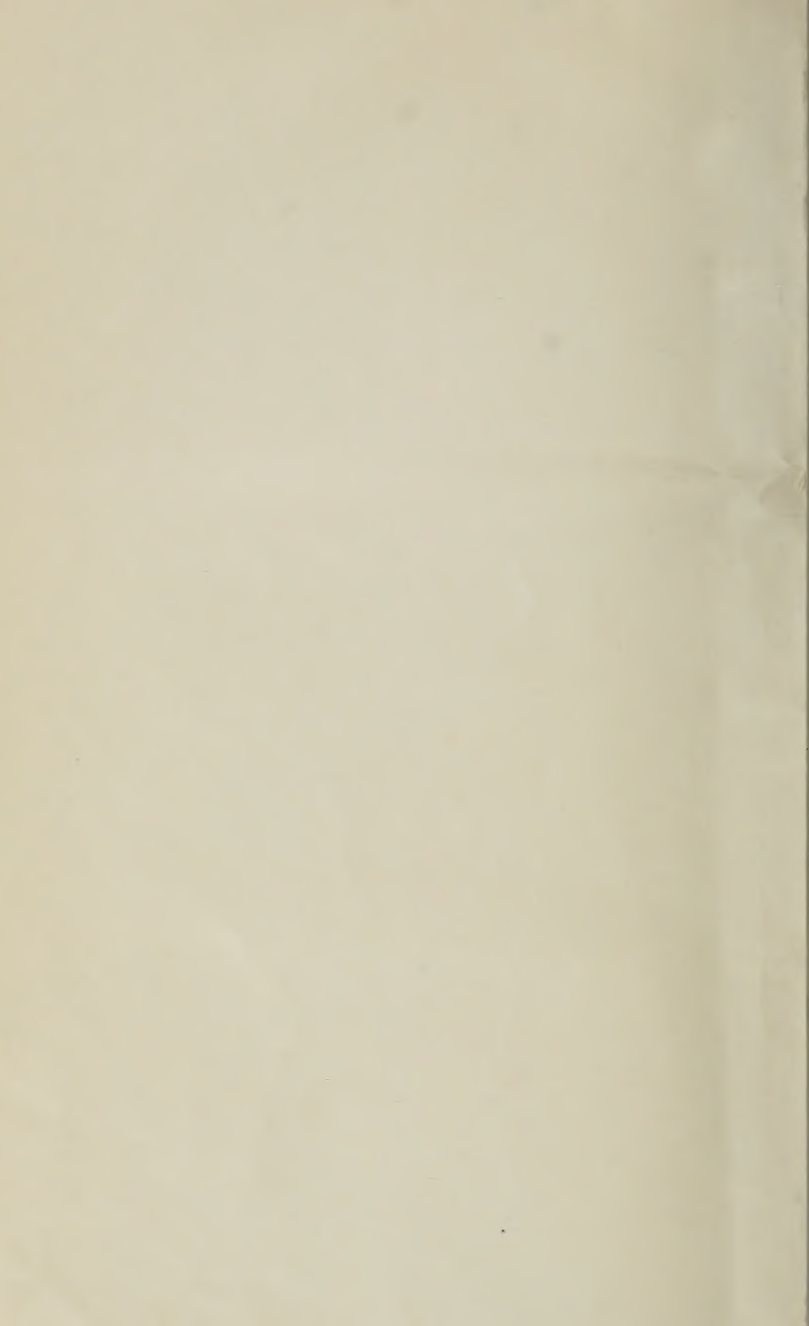
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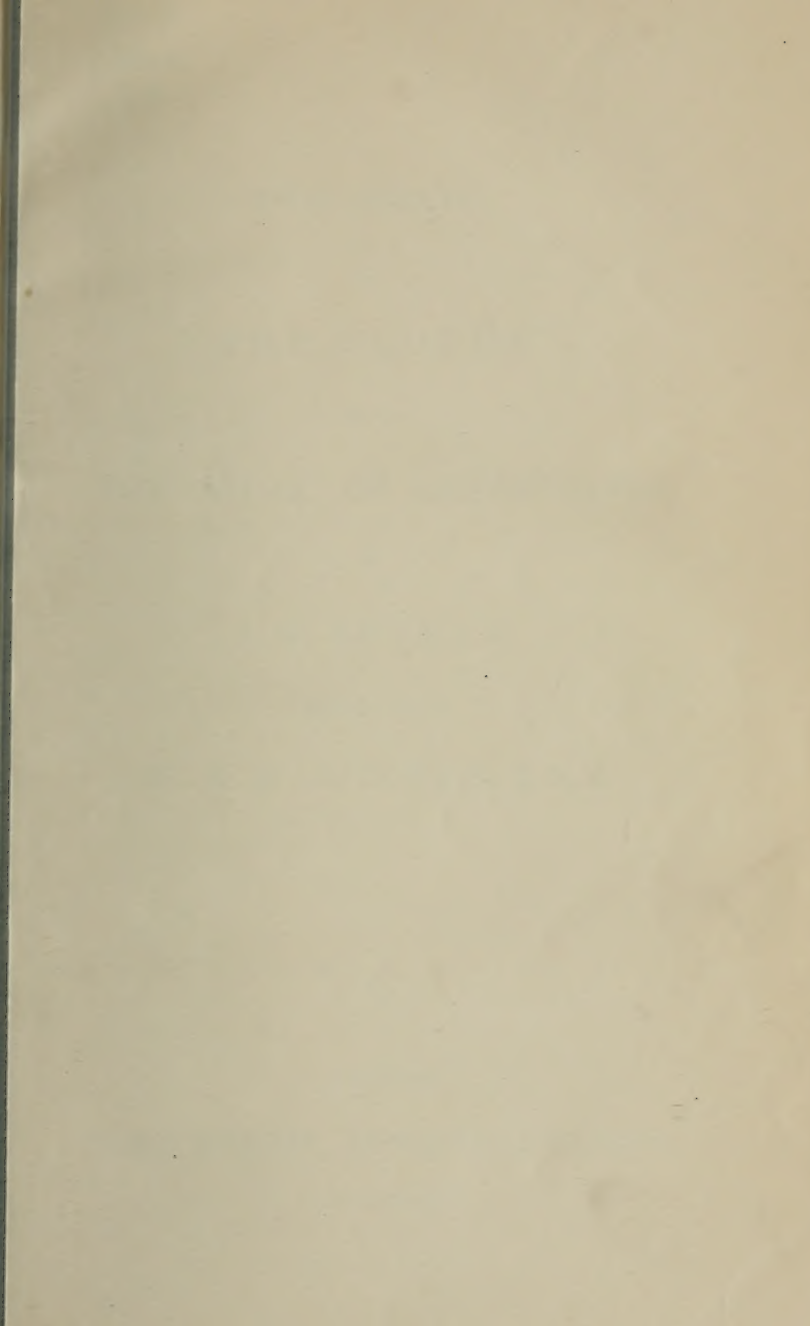


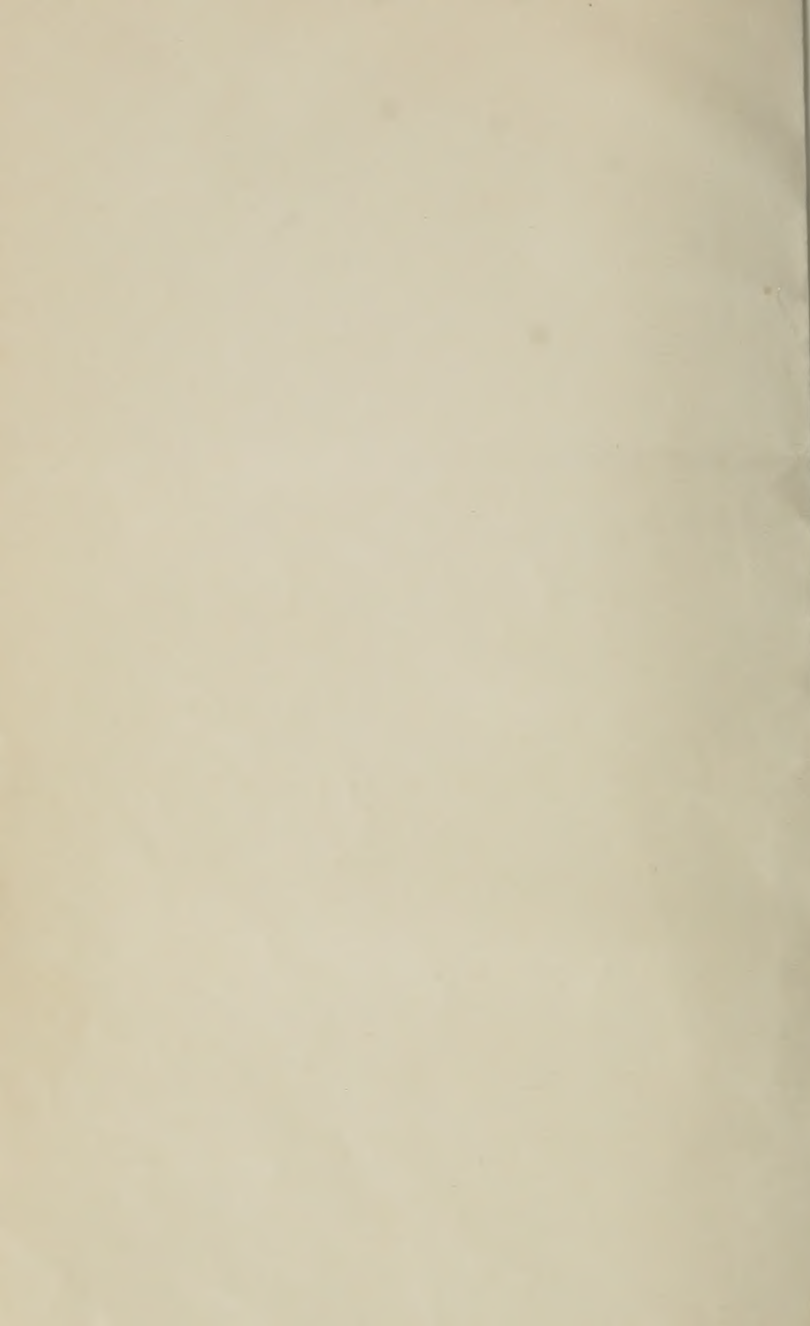
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TWO ESSAYS

ON

“THE CLOUDS”

AND ON

“THE ΓΗΡΑΣ” OF ARISTOPHANES,

BY

J. W. SÜVERN.

TRANSLATED BY

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MDCCCXXXVI.

The Essay of which the following is a translation, was read to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin in 1825, and was published in the following year. The drama of Aristophanes, the main purport and tendency of which, particularly in reference to the characters of Sokrates, Alkibiades and Perikles, are explained by the author of the Essay, is so well known to the majority of the readers into whose hands the translation is likely to fall, that it is unnecessary to preface it with any preliminary matter.

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PROFESSOR SÜVERN

ON

"THE CLOUDS" OF ARISTOPHANES.

SOME observations which have lately been published on the play of "The Clouds," and particularly on the character of Sokrates, as exhibited to us by Aristophanes, appear to me to invite another attempt to unravel this enigma by a systematic analysis of the whole drama. These observations will be more distinctly adverted to in the course of the following essay.

The question which first presents itself, in this as in other inquiries of the same nature, must be confined to the principal story of the piece. A plain, simple citizen of Athens, engaged in husbandry, having married into a family of distinction, and having contracted debts through the extravagance of his wife (v. 49. sq. 437. sq. ed. Dindorf) and his son's fashionable love of horses, in order to defeat the impending suits of his creditors, wishes to place his son in a school of philosophy and rhetoric, where he may learn the arts of oratory, and of turning right into wrong, in order thereby to repair the ills which he had chiefly brought upon himself. On the son's refusal, the father applies in person to the master of the school, who is named Sokrates: by him he is so-

lemnly initiated, instructed, and examined, but being found too old and stupid to learn, he is dismissed; upon which, after he has given his son some samples of the new philosophy, he forces him much against his will into the school: here the young man makes such great and rapid progress in learning, that he is able to teach his father, who exults at his brilliant success, the most extraordinary tricks for the attainment of his object; but as he is now himself enlightened, and has raised himself above considerations of right and duty, he denies and scorns in the coarsest manner the relation in which he stands both to his father and mother; he defends his new opinions with the refinements of sophistry, and retorting upon his father the good lessons he had before received from him, pays him in the same coin. Upon this the father cured of his error, in wishing to get rid of his embarrassments by dishonesty and sophistical chicanery, returns to take revenge upon the school of that pernicious science and upon its master, who is obliged to receive back all the subtle arguments and high-flown words, which he had himself made use of, and the old man levels the establishment to the ground.

From this connected view of the story, we see that it is throughout directed against that propensity of the Athenians to controversies and law-suits, which was eminently promoted by their practice of getting into debt; and against the pernicious, sophistical and wrangling oratory, which was ever at the service of this disposition, in the courts of justice, and particularly in the discussion of all public transactions; and Aristophanes never loses an opportunity of combating these two vices.

Moreover as the story is set in action by the per-

verse purpose awakened in Strepsiades, as it comes to an end when he is cured; and as this change arises from the unexpected and extravagant result of the experiment upon Pheidippides, who is to be the instrument of the father's design; the school of sophistry in which the youth is to be formed, is clearly the hinge on which the whole action turns; for its influence on Pheidippides decides the success or failure of the views of Strepsiades, and consequently the issue of the story of the drama.

This, therefore, is the view which we must take of the relation of the several parts to each other; namely, that the principal character to which the whole refers, is not Sokrates, who has generally been considered to be so, in consequence of the story lingering so long at his shop, and of his being the sufferer at the conclusion, but Strepsiades himself; whereas Sokrates is the intermediate party who is to instruct Pheidippides for the vicious purposes of the father; and this he executes so perfectly, that the old gentleman is at first deceived; but he soon reaps fruits, the nature of which opens his eyes to his own folly, and to the destructive tendency of this system of education.

It is only by keeping well in mind the relative situation of the characters, that we can rightly comprehend and appreciate the manner in which they act together in their real import; and this import can only be ascertained from the object of the poem, from which they, as well as the whole external form and fashion of the work, have taken their rise. In this view we may at once observe, that although all three, Strepsiades, Pheidippides, and Sokrates, in conformity with the historical and political tendency of all the comedies of Aristophanes, must have an

historical signification corresponding to the especial object of "The Clouds," yet are all three, not the less fictitious characters of poetry; consequently the dramatic master of the school of chicanery, although he bear the name of a real person, stands exactly in the same position in this respect, as the other two. But whilst in this view we may conclude that it was the principal object of the poet, so to fashion his dramatic personages, that their poetical form should perfectly express their meaning, by which he was at liberty, by extravagantly caricaturing their traits, to show what he intended by them, so clearly, that they could not be mistaken; yet, on the other hand, we cannot fail to recognise a greater external resemblance of those characters, whose names are borrowed from certain definite individuals. And if we examine more accurately the character of the Sokrates of the comedy, we shall find that the real Sokrates was decidedly the root and origin of the other; and that more leading characteristics than appear at the first blush, are interwoven into the Sokrates of Aristophanes, partly by literally copying them from real life, partly by a formal resemblance at least, and partly by expanding them in the spirit of caricature.

In the first place it admits of no doubt whatever, that according to the practice of the ancient comedy, in the designation of certain characters by particular individuals, the only known exception to the rule being that of the demagogue Kleon in "The Knights," the mask of the president of the school of sophistry did, in fact, present upon the stage the portrait of the real Sokrates.

Moreover, the habits of life, and the characteristic traits of outward conduct, which in v. 104, 362 sq. 415 sq. 835 sq. are attributed to Sokrates personally, or to

his school, are so combined in this portrait, that we clearly perceive how much strictly corresponds to real life, and how much is overcharged by burlesque and drollery. These passages announce in general terms the hardy and rugged habits of the master and scholars of the Phrontisterion; and these habits, we know, from Xenophon, as well as from Plato,¹ to have been peculiar to Sokrates. His well known habit of going bare-footed² is faithfully, and to the letter, transferred from the real to the fictitious Sokrates. If then, on the other hand, it be said (v. 837) of him and of his scholars, that none of them ever shaved, or anointed themselves for the games, or bathed for cleanliness, we are obliged, as Sokrates did sometimes, though seldom, bathe,³ and anoint himself for the games, to consider these expressions merely as the caricature of a neglect of outward appearances. Alkibiades himself tells him to his face, in the Symposium of Plato⁴ (and therein he confirms what Aristophanes says in v. 362), that he used to go strutting and stalking along the streets, and throwing about his eyes to the right and left. His fits of absence also must have been very striking, as Plato says⁵ that he often remained standing on the spot where they found him, lost in meditation; and once, at the siege of Potidaia, he stood fixed in thought⁶ from an early hour of one day till the next sunrise, when he had at last found out what he had

¹ Xen. mem. Socr. I. 6, 2 sq. Plato Sympos. Opp. P. 11, vol. 2, p. 464, ed. Bekker.

² Besides the above cited passages, see Plato Phædr. c. 5, ed. Heindorf.; and Voss' Mythological Letters, Part I. p. 110, 131 sq.

³ Sympos. p. 372.

⁴ Sympos. p. 464.

⁵ Sympos. p. 374, *ἔθως γὰρ τι τοῦτ' ἔχει, ἐνίοτε ἀποστάς ὀπη αὐτὸν ἄστηκεν.*

⁶ Sympos. p. 462 sq.

been in search of. These apparent eccentricities not only furnished ground for the singular instruction in philosophical meditation, which the Sokrates of "The Clouds" gives to Strepsiades (v. 694 sq. 706, 732 sq. 742 sq. 761 sq.), namely, that wrapped up wholly within himself, he should follow the flight of his own thoughts free as air, and not give in, until he had caught the idea he was in pursuit of; but they prompted also to the poet the happy expression, often borrowed⁷ from him by other authors (*ἀεροβατεῖν*, to tread the air); and hence it was no great step to the emblematical representation of it, under the form of a man high exalted above the sun, in a chicken coop, for the purposes of reflection and meditation.⁸ This comic picture of definite traits and accidents differs only in degree, and by the vividness of their representation, from the anecdotes of real life, for which Sokrates, by his various peculiarities, must have afforded ample materials; as for instance, the anecdote related by Plutarch,⁹ of his Daimon or Genius having led him and those who were in his company, from the high street into a narrow lane, where they came upon a herd of dirty swine, by which most of them were run down, and whence none escaped without being covered with filth.

There are, likewise, many intellectual characteristics of the master of the school of chicanery, which are visible in the real Sokrates; in which, at least, we cannot fail to recognise some resemblance to him. Sokrates, indeed, did not, like that master and the sophists, pretend to make the youths who attached

⁷ Hemsterhus. Appendix animadversionum in Lucianum, p. 10.

⁸ Schol. ad. v. 225, *διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μετέωρον αὐτὸν ἐποίησε καθήμενον.*

⁹ De genio Socratis, c. 10, Opp. T. X. p. 313, ed. Hutten.

themselves to him, immediately fit, to all outward appearance, for the affairs of civil life (λεκτικούς καὶ πρακτικούς καὶ μηχανικούς),¹⁰ or to fashion them for extempore speaking before the people and the judges (δημηγορικούς καὶ δεικανικούς);¹¹ but his first object was to teach them to be good and true men (καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς), and thereby to render them useful to their country, and their fellow-citizens, to their family and dependents. But the education of the youth for practical life and for public affairs, was also his object;¹² nor indeed could it be otherwise: and it is evident too, that eloquence, as such, was universally considered as the result of his teaching, from the circumstance, that at a later period, the law introduced by Kritias, then one of the thirty tyrants, λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν, was especially aimed at him.¹³ A great deal then of what conduced to excellence in oratory must have been taught by him, as well as by the sophists and by the Sokrates of the drama, only that he pursued it so much the more justly and soundly, as he did not confine his view to the external and practical object of instruction, but looked purely to the cultivation and development of the man; and this was the reason that the ablest amongst those youths who were in pursuit of vain-glorious and selfish purposes, such as Alkibiades, Theramenes, and Kritias, first attached

¹⁰ Xenoph. Mem. IV. 3, 1.

¹¹ Id. 1, 2, 48.

¹² Xenophon, l. c. conf. iv. 5, 12, ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γίγνεσθαι ἀνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτους. I cannot believe the supplementary words καὶ διαλεκτικωτάτους to be a genuine reading—the whole context is against it, and the author would be giving, as the object of education, that which he had previously brought forward as the means. They seem to have slipped in from the beginning of the next chapter.

¹³ Xenoph. Mem. 1, 2, 31; and Schneider's note.

themselves to him, and as soon as they had acquired in their intercourse with him that formal or methodical readiness which they were in search of, they deserted him.

When Strepsiades is to be initiated into the new system, it remains to be ascertained (according to the injunctions of the choros) (v. 414 sq.) whether or no he possesses a good memory, a natural disposition for subtle and minute enquiries, and an unwearied industry; and Sokrates (v. 482 sq.) puts him shortly to the proof, to see if he is retentive, *μνημονικὸς*. He is in the first instance admitted, as his master sees that, at least, he has got a pragmatistical turn (v. 494 sq.), but he is soon dismissed, when having received his lesson, he fails on the first trial of his memory (4785, 790). In the same manner did the real Sokrates place the highest value on this faculty, in the youths whom he admitted into his more intimate society; and from this test he formed his judgment of their natural abilities, whether they would readily comprehend what they observed, whether they retained what they had learned, and if they possessed a strong turn for all practical sciences.¹⁴

The principal object with Sokrates was, as is well known, the attainment of self-knowledge;¹⁵ and to this he endeavoured to conduct those who frequented him, in order to bring them from a false appreciation of themselves, to open to them an insight into their own deficiencies, and thus to lead them on the right

¹⁴ Xenoph. Mem. IV. 1, 2, ἐτεκμαίρετο εἰ τὰς ἀγαθὰς φέσειε ἐκ τοῦ ταχὺ τε μαθεῖν οἷς προσέχουσι, καὶ μνημονεῖν ἃ ἂν μάθοιεν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῆν τῶν μαθημάτων πάντων, εἰ ὧν ἐστὶν οἰκίαν τε καλῶς οἰκεῖν καὶ πόλιν, καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασιν εὖ χρῆσθαι.

¹⁵ Plato Phædr. c. 8, ib. Heindorf. Apolog. Socr. Opp. P. I. vol. 3, p. 113.

road to a good and perfect education. And as in Xenophon¹⁶ we read how Euthydemus is driven by his questions, in reference to the Delphic *γνώσι σαυτὸν*, to give up the high opinion he had entertained of himself, and how¹ at length he perceives and confesses his own nothingness, so does Strepsiades announce to his son, on his going into the school of Sokrates (v. 842), as one of the effects of it, which will immediately take place, *γνώσει δὲ σαυτὸν, ὡς ἀμαθὴς εἶ καὶ παχύς*, "Thou wilt soon learn what an ignorant and stupid fellow thou art." which is evidently a pleasant and comic allusion to the practice of the real Sokrates.

The Dialectics of Sokrates were, indeed, very different from those of the school exhibited in "The Clouds;" they did not consist like those of the sophists, in that system of contentious quirks and quibbles, which Aristotle has exposed in his treatise on the sophistical *ἔλεγχοι*, or paralogisms (false reasonings), and which had for its object,¹⁷ not the discovery of truth or facts, but simply the maintaining the dispute of the moment, and was thus necessarily productive of indifference towards truth and error, right and wrong: on the contrary, Sokratic dialectics taught the art¹⁸ of analysing ideas, in order to obtain through that process a clear consciousness of their generic characters; and thus to possess them intelligibly and distinctly. He considered it absolutely necessary, if any one wished to learn how to express himself clearly and correctly, to practice in

¹⁶ Mem. IV. 2, 24, 39.

¹⁷ Aristot. de Sophist. elench. cap. 11, 2 sq. ed. Bahle.

¹⁸ Xenoph. Mem. IV. 5, 12, *ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι ὀνομασθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ συνιόντος κοινῇ βουλευέσθαι διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ πράγματα.*

this art; and it was indispensable for eloquence, and for ruling others by the power of speech.¹⁹ Now we observe evident traces of this leading trait of the real Sokrates in the strong disposition which, when inspired by the choros of clouds (v. 320), who in the words of Sokrates (v. 317), bestow on mankind understanding and the faculty of dialectics and intelligence, *γνώμην καὶ διάλεξιν καὶ νοῦν*, Strepsiades feels within himself, to subtilize in the school of philosophy, and “spin metaphysic cobwebs,” *λεπτολογεῖν καὶ περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχεῖν*. We see them also in the instruction which the master gives him to cover up the head, and collect within it his faculties of contemplation, sifting, dividing, abstracting, and compounding: and not only in these, but also in the grammatical or critical questions, which he propounds to him (v. 659 sq.) and in the whole dialectic system of the school of sophistical refinement. The master or director of this school has also appropriated to himself the method of induction,²⁰ the etymological deductions,²¹ and that comparison of the didactic developement of ideas with the art or science of obstetrics,²² which were all peculiar to the real Sokrates. Now, although much of all this is either in great proportion, or wholly peculiar to the sophists, as for example, the grammatical exercises, which are strictly in connection with those devices²³ of theirs, which turned upon solecisms, and appear to allude to similar

¹⁹ Ib. IV. 6, 1, Ὡς δὲ καὶ διαλεκτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνιόντας, πειράσομαι καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν. Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότες τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων, ἐννόμζει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐνέσθαι.

²⁰ V. 383 sq. V. 234; and Wieland's note in his translation of “The Clouds,” in the Attische Museum, vol. ii. p. 2, s. 92.

²¹ V. 394, and Ernesti's note.

²² V. 137, and Wieland's note, l. c. p. 81.

²³ Aristot. de Sophist. el. cap. 14 and 32.

sophistical subtleties of Prodikos;²⁴ the method of questioning, too,²⁵ practised by them as well as by Sokrates, as the best weapon of defence, as well as offence (though Sokrates understood better how to manage it, and felt, moreover, the necessity of knowing it, and of handling it with ability, in order to meet and destroy the snares of those sophists); there naturally arose from these circumstances a strong and deceptive appearance of similarity, notwithstanding the very great difference which really existed between him and their school. For Sokrates directed his attention to a pure, harmonious, and comprehensive form of science,²⁶ not to tricks of art; he sought not for outward results, but for truth and facts; his whole and sole aim being an objective reality in every point of view; and when this was beyond his reach, he preferred a modest reserve and ignorance.

The Sokrates of Xenophon was so notoriously averse to those profound researches into the *μετέωρα*, that is into the universe, the heavenly bodies, and atmospherical phenomena, which engross the master of subtleties in "The Clouds," that he pronounced it to be a proof of alienation of mind in all who, like Anaxagoras, were for ever brooding upon such topics; for it was impossible, he said, to penetrate into the material or objective cause, or basis of them, or into their mutual dependence upon one another.²⁷ This was originally the province of

²⁴ Platon. Charmid. c. 24, and passages cited by Heindorf.

²⁵ Aristot. l. c. cap. 12 and 15.

²⁶ Schleiermacher on the Worth of Sokrates as a Philosopher, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, 1814-1815 (Philosophical Class, p. 63-64).—Berlin. [See Translation of this work in Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 548. Tr.]

²⁷ Xenoph. Mem. I. 1, 11, IV. 7. 6.

the physical school, or school of natural philosophers, afterwards of the Eleatic school. It was, however, also a favourite pursuit of the sophists;²⁸ and amongst these Prodikos is particularly pointed out as a meteorologist²⁹ by Aristophanes, in "The Clouds" (v. 360), and in "The Birds" (v. 692). It is therefore not only from those two schools, but generally from the philosophers his contemporaries, that the poet has introduced this science into his *φροντιστήριον* or institute for subtleties; and that with expressions, as *μεριμνοφροντισταί* (v. 101), which Xenophon³⁰ resolves into *μεριμνῶντα* and *φροντιστήν*, *μετεωροσοφισταί* (v. 360) *μετεωροφένακες* (v. 333), and *ἀδολέσχει* (v. 1480-1485), by which, as they are used by the preceptor and his disciples, he designates the philosophers in general, partly from the object to which they principally attached themselves,³¹ and partly from their system of speculation and rhetoric, as bearing upon that object. One of the most prominent cosmogonical doctrines attributed by Aristophanes to the master of the school (v. 380. 826 sq. 1241, 1471, 1477), is that which describes the whirlwind god, *Δίωτος*, by whom as the sovereign ruler of the world, Zeus and the other gods are displaced. One of the scholia on v. 380 observes that this is borrowed from Anaxagoras. Wieland finds fault with that notion,³² and remarks, on the contrary,

²⁸ Philostrat. Vit. Soph. in Opp. p. 481, ed. Olear. *Διλέγετο μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀνδρίας διλέγετο ἔτι καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡρώων τε περὶ καὶ θεῶν, καὶ ὅπη ἀπεσχημάτισται ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κόσμου.*

²⁹ Compare Schol. ad Nub. 360, and Suidas voc. *Πρόδικος*, who as Hemsterhuis observes (animad. ad Lucian. app. p. 3), had access to much more complete scholia on this passage of Aristophanes, than we possess at present.

³⁰ Mem. IV. 7, 6.

³¹ Ruhnken ad Xenoph. Mem. I. 2, 31. Hemsterh. l. c. p. 10.

³² Explanation V, annexed to the translation of "The Clouds."

that the doctrine arose out of the school of Demokritos, and may have been brought to Athens by his disciple Protagoras. But the *εἵροι* or *εἵραι* of Anaxagoras were very different from those of Demokritos. According to the system of the former, they came into being at the moment when Intelligence (*Νοῦς*) had given life and motion to matter, which was originally without motion;³³ but according to Demokritos, they were themselves the originals of all things, and bodies were formed by the chance collision of the atoms contained in them.³⁴ Now it might be said, that a precise distinction of these two vortex systems was no business of the poet's, particularly as Anaxagoras himself, by not defining the further operation of *Νοῦς* or Intelligence by means of these vortices, had left it undecided, whether the former or the latter, the *Νοῦς* or the vortices, had predominated in the formation of the world. But the *Δῖνος* of "The Clouds" is brought forward by the circumstance, that he was said to have displaced Zeus, and that Anaxagoras was accused of *ἀσέβεια*, for having transformed the gods into allegories, and for having given an earthly existence to the heavenly bodies,³⁵ which had been held to be gods; here then is evidently an allusion to Anaxagoras, as again in those passages in "The Clouds," where Sokrates places Clouds and Ether in the seat of the gods, he is compared with Anaxagoras in *ἀσέβεια*, just as in the witty and malicious expression, *Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος* (v. 830), he is brought into comparison with the well known atheist Diagoras of Melos, as if the poet had said *Σωκράτης ὁ ἄθεος*. To this we may add,

³³ Ritter's History of the Ionian Philosophy, p. 255, and the passages there quoted.

³⁴ See the passages in Meiners' History of Sciences, P. I. p. 693.

³⁵ See the passages in Ritter, p. 205, and in Meiers and Schömann's "Attic Law Proceedings," p. 303.

that Plato also in the *Apology*,³⁶ has thrown back upon Anaxagoras the charge of ἀσέβεια, which in a more dangerous place had been brought against Sokrates.

However strongly and plainly this doctrine, and the whole study of natural philosophy to which it belongs, are even in our eyes in direct contradiction to that of the real Sokrates, of whom Cicero says: "Philosophiam devocavit e coelo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quærere," there are yet some points of approximation, by which, in reference to such study, he is identified with his dramatic namesake. For not only did Sokrates himself (as has already been indicated by Wolf³⁷ in reference to Aristophanes), before he avowed and recommended the practical side of philosophy as alone useful for life, busy himself a good deal with natural philosophy, and frequent the lessons of Archelaos, a scholar of Anaxagoras, or as some say, those of Anaxagoras himself;³⁸ but his own system of teaching proceeded, according to Xenophon,³⁹ (like the preparatory theoretical instruction in the *φροντιστήριον*), from God and divine things, and from abstract ideas of right; and comprehended in this view the heavenly bodies, and the phenomena of nature. But Sokrates' doctrine of God, of the world, and of the soul, can scarcely have had, as Schleiermacher has already observed,⁴⁰ the exclusive application which Xenophon alone has given to it. That he always set that preeminent value on the soul

³⁶ Opp. P. i. vol. 2, p. 109.

³⁷ In the preface to his translation of "The Clouds," p. x. sq.

³⁸ See the passages in Meiners' History of the Sciences, P. II. p. 350, and Reisig's prefat. at Nub. p. xii. sq. Cicero Quæst. Tusc. V. 4.

³⁹ Mem. IV. 3 and 4.

⁴⁰ See as above, "On the Worth of Socrates," &c.

over the body, and that he laid such stress on the cultivation of the former, was, in all probability, based upon his own notion of the essence of the soul, whose incorporeal, ante-corporeal, and immortal existence, according to the notice contained in a fragment of Plutarch's Treatise, *περὶ ψυχῆς*,⁴¹ he was able to demonstrate. With this again was combined his view of the primary cause of the world; and the two notions together render it likely, that at least the most general basis of Plato's doctrine concerning God, nature, and ideas, which is referred to Sokrates by the pseudo-Plutarch,⁴² was, in fact, derived from him. Even then, should we suppose that abandoning the most general and universal principle, he pursued in his doctrine of the Godhead, only that teleological and practical course, which Xenophon alone has brought forward, still were objects and considerations of the description alluded to, by no means excluded from the range of the Sokratic dialogues; and a notice of the views entertained also by the natural philosophers, thus became *interwoven* in those dialogues, either in the way we are told by Xenophon,⁴³ or as it is introduced into the etymological inquiries, which Sokrates enters into on these subjects with Hermogenes, in the *Kratylos* of Plato.⁴⁴ But besides this, and without referring to the earlier application of Sokrates to objects of natural philosophy, there would still remain, in reference to these pursuits, a resemblance in form between him and his namesake in "The Clouds."

⁴¹ Opp. T. xiv. p. 279, ed. Hutten. Compare also § 66 of the *Phædo* of Plato.

⁴² *De placitis philosophorum*, 1, γ', ζ', and ι. Opp. T. xiii. p. 358, 372, and 375.

⁴³ *Mem.* 1, 1, 14, IV. 7, 7.

⁴⁴ Opp. P. xi. vol. 2, p. 56.

The school of philosophy and rhetoric, which together with its director, is essentially interwoven into the conduct of this piece, is therefore an amalgamation of elements borrowed from the earlier school of physical knowledge, as well as from the Eleatic school, and from that of the later sophists, which by means of several essential characteristic traits derived from the real Sokrates, are all concentrated together in his dramatic character. But the union of these essential characteristics with sophistical ingredients seems to have been the prominent object in the mind of the poet. This, indeed, is the result of the character of the whole play, in which it would not be difficult to point out several of the captious and litigious forms and methods of sophistry, alluded to by Aristotle, and by Plato; but that would lead us too far from the object of the present essay. We cannot, however, avoid noticing the λόγος κρείττων, and ἥττων, δίκαιος and ἄδικος, highly important as they are for the whole piece, and the possession of which forms the reputation of the school (v. 112): the last of these Pheidippides is required to learn (v. 116); it is afterwards ardently pursued by Strepsiades (v. 244), and finally when personified⁴⁵ and brought upon the stage, it enters

⁴⁵ Wieland has the strange notion, of which the play contains not a single trace, that the λόγ. δίκ. and ἄδ. were brought upon the stage in cages, and in the guise of fighting cocks. To say nothing of the σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτιδες, introduced as persons in "The Knights," the representation of Εἰρήνη and Ὀπώρα in "The Peace," and Βασιλεία in "The Birds;" as these ideas are readily transformed into allegories, how much more natural does the dialogue between right and wrong become, if performed by two men, just as Prodikos has represented the very same subject, by two women appropriately attired, according to the description of Xenophon! But we must also admit here an appropriate disguise: the λόγος ἄδικος might have worn the mask of one of the most notorious wranglers of the time. From the repeated invectives with which the λόγος δίκαιος attacks him

into a war of words with the former. This was, indeed, just the way of the sophistical teachers, to give to their pupils, to be learnt by rote, λόγοι of this description, that they might at once see and learn the rules of the art in the application of them;⁴⁶ and we may look upon the dispute of the two λόγοι for the possession of Pheidippides, as a parody of the well known contest, in the "Ωραι of Prodikos, between Ἀρετὴ and Κακία for the young Hercules; the point of the parody lying in the contrast of the results. This view of the case becomes quite clear, when "The Clouds" of the choros (v. 360 sq.) bring Sokrates and Prodikos together, as their chief worshippers and favorites, ascribing, indeed, σοφία to the latter, not less ironically than is expressed in the proverb Προδίκου σοφώτερος;⁴⁷ and this is the more to the purpose, as Sokrates had himself frequented the lectures of Prodikos.⁴⁸ It was then in perfect accordance with this connection, which is expressed also in a fragment of the ταγηνισταὶ⁴⁹ when speaking of one who had been corrupted by the studies of that school,

(v. 890) καίπερ θρασὺς ὤν, and (v. 915) θρασὺς εἰ πολλοῦ, we might infer that it was that of Thrasymachos, who on other occasions is not spared by Aristophanes. We may compare the fragment from the Δαιταλῆς, which is quoted further on. Can the δίκαιος have worn the mask of Aristophanes himself? His going over to the opposite party would, in that case, be so much the more ironical.

⁴⁶ Aristot. de Soph. el. c. 34, 7. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους μισθαρονοῦντων ὁμοία τις ἦν ἡ παιδείνσις τῇ Γοργίου παραγματεῖα· λόγους γὰρ οἱ μὲν ῥητορικοὺς οἱ δὲ ἐρωτηματούς ἐκείσαν ἐκμανθάνειν, εἰς οὓς πλειστάκις ἐμπίπτειν ᾗθησαν ἑκάτεροι τοὺς ἀλλήλων λόγους.

⁴⁷ Valckenaer animadv. ad Ammonium, L. II. c. 6.

⁴⁸ Xenoph. Mem. II. 1, 21, ib. Schneider. Plato Menon. c. 37, ib. Buttmann.

⁴⁹ Schol. ad Nub. 360,

τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον βιβλίον διέφθορεν,
ἢ Πρόδικος, ἢ τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν εἰς γέ τις.

to tack on to this dramatic personage, what was quite foreign to the real Sokrates ; namely, that payment would be exacted (v. 876) for instruction in the art which was there taught, after the example, not merely of the sophists, who gave worldly wisdom in exchange for money (*παρὰ τὸ σοφίζειν*),⁵⁰ but also of Zeno, the founder of the Eleatics,⁵¹ and of other philosophers.

But of all the characteristic traits which are combined together in the master of the school of chicanery, the only one which we cannot with any certainty ascribe to, or derive from any one definite individual, or any one class of men, is the filching away of a cloak from the palæstra, which is extolled by one of his scholars, as his finest master-stroke (v. 177 sq.). An attempt, indeed, has been recently made, by a singular explanation of this really difficult passage, to convert the actual stealing of the cloak into the mere exhibition or demonstration of such an act ; and thus to remove from Aristophanes the odium of having accused Sokrates of an act of villainy. Reisig, in his preface to this play, supposes Sokrates merely to have exhibited on a table strewn with ashes, and with the roasting spit bent into a circular form, how some one else had stolen a cloak from the palæstra, the expression used by the poet being *Θουμάτιον*, with the article, i. e. *the* cloak which was the object of the proposition ; and by this explanation it is conceived that the difficulty is removed, of either imagining the

⁵⁰ Xenoph. Mem. I. 6, 12, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ πολλοῦντας σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλεῖσιν. Aristot. de Soph. Elench. c. 1, 6, ἔστι γὰρ ἡ σοφιστικὴ φαινομένη σοφία, αἴσα δὲ μὴ, καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς χορηγιστὴς ἀπὸ φαινομένης σοφίας, ἀλλ' αἰετῶσης. Compare Plat. Sophist. Opp. P. II. vol. ii. p. 140, sq. 158. sq. 241.

⁵¹ Plato Alcib. I. c. 31, extr.

scene to be laid entirely in the palæstra, which, however, could only have taken place in the school, or of admitting a sudden jump of the professor from the school into the palæstra, inconsistent as this would necessarily be with the brevity of the narrative. But setting aside the difficulty and circumstantiality of such demonstration (*mathematicæ ejus demonstrationis*, as it is called), of which we can form to ourselves no just notion; and, moreover, considering that even with this explanation, insignificant as it is, the character of Sokrates does not come out a jot more pure, by the mere description and demonstration of such a learned act of thievery to his scholars, than if he had actually put it in practice himself; still if Aristophanes had intended that *ὑφείλετο* (v. 179) should have been taken for *ἐποίησεν*, *ἔγραψεν*, *ἀπέδειξεν ὑφαιρεῖσθαι*, on which the whole explanation hinges (in the same manner as Horace (*Serm. II. 5, 41*), jokingly ascribes to the bombastic Furius himself the “*hibernas canâ nive conspuet Alpes*,” which Furius had applied to Jupiter), he ought to have given to the whole narrative such a form, that the hearer must necessarily have taken the word *ὑφείλετο* in the same sense, in which the poet meant it; and not have been led, as he is at present, to apply it, according to its most natural and obvious meaning, to the fact itself. Amongst the passages adduced in support of this explanation, that from “*The Frogs*,” v. 911, *ἕνα τιν’ ἐκάθισεν ἐγκαλύψας*, is the most apposite, and can be taken in no other sense than as *ἐποίησεν ἕνα τινὰ καθῆσθαι ἐγκεκαλυμμένον*. Thus, in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, VI. 115, we have, *Te quoque mutatum torvo, Neptune, juvenco Virgine in Æolia posuit*—where *posuit* is clearly put for *insidentem fecit*. As to the passage in v. 168 of “*The Plutus*,”

ὁδ' ἀλούς γε μοιχὸς διὰ σέ που παρατίλλεται, some more decided and apposite examples might have been produced; there being many instances in both languages in which the punishment of crime is attributed to the laws themselves, which, in fact, only prescribe the punishment; whereas, in order to understand παρατίλλεται in the above quotation, it is not at all necessary to explain it by νόμοι παρατίλλεσθαι κελεύουσιν or ποιοῦσιν. The third passage too, from v. 587 of "The Lysistrata" is misunderstood, as ῥαβδίξειν and τολυπέειν are applied to the actual unravelling of the political intrigues, which the women had undertaken, and not merely to their chattering about it. This explanation then would imply that Sokrates, simply to divert his disciples from their hunger, had exhibited to them an instructive work of art (piece of machinery); and that πρὸς τᾶλφιτα (v. 176) should be rendered *against hunger*; whereas it can in truth only signify *ad procuranda cibaria*, in which sense we have also πρὸς τᾶλφιτα in v. 348; and with this we may compare the fragment of the Γῆρας in Diogenes Laertius, IV. 18, where many provocatives are enumerated, πρὸς κρέας μέγα, i. e. *ad excitandum illud κρέας μέγα*, on the double sense of which word, κρέας, the commentators on v. 428 of "The Knights" may be consulted. Now, though the anecdote related in v. 177 sq. of "The Clouds," may by some be considered merely as preliminary to a geometrical demonstration, it may also be taken for the visible preliminary to a meal. If Sokrates had been merely drawing geometrical figures in the sand, as he is represented to be doing in the Menon of Plato, or as Archimedes used to do, and if Aristophanes had meant to imply sand or dust, he might, as far as the metre of the verse was concerned, have

used the word *κόνιν* just as well as *τέφραν*. Nor could he have wanted for this purpose a bent roasting spit; as circles and rules (*κανόνες*), which must be understood as implied by the word *γεωμετρία* in line 202, were, of course, at hand in the school.⁵² It must therefore have had a reference to the providing of a meal. This the teacher treats as a problem to be solved on mathematical principles; his first step is to take up some ashes—not sand or dust, and strew them, not upon the earth, but upon the hearth; he then takes a roasting spit, but instead of sticking thrushes, or other eatables upon it, as Dikaiopolis does in “The Acharnians” (v. 1007), he bends it into a circular form, and brings out an unexpected solution of his problem, not by producing a roasted joint, but a cloak which might be bartered for one, catching hold of it by the spit, and filching it out of the palestra. We have thus a double contrivance for getting a dinner, and for a display of mathematical knowledge; and as the result has no immediate connection with either, and is at the same time totally unexpected, we have an instance of that comic turn, which so frequently occurs in Aristophanes, and which is designated by the term *παρ’ ὑπόνοιαν*,⁵³ coupled as it is here, likewise, with another, called *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.⁵⁴ The article in *θοιμάτιον* denotes certainly *the* cloak which was aimed at. We learn, also, from the lines 497 sq. 856 and 1498, that the school made a profit by cloaks, and Strepsiades himself is afterwards obliged to leave behind his own, a

⁵² Compare Av. 999 sq. Valckenaer ad Eurip. Hippolyt. 468.

⁵³ See with others the Scholiasts on this passage, on Av. 38, on Vesp. 723. Acharn. 1060, &c.

⁵⁴ See the Scholiasts on Acharn. 733; the commentators on Acharn. 751, &c.

circumstance which gives additional force to this anecdote. The words too, ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας, from the use of the article point to one particular palæstra, which we may suppose to have been in the neighbourhood of the school; and one of the scholia very properly considers it an allusion to Sokrates' habit of frequenting the gymnasia; where, too, a cloak might easily be got from amongst those deposited in the ἀποδυτήριον. The narrative is characteristically told with epigrammatic brevity, in which the jump from the school into the palæstra and back again, is represented as instantaneous, to express the teacher's dexterity in these things; and in order fully to understand it, we must fancy to ourselves the emphasis, with which the disciple first lays down the preliminary arrangements, and then the energy with which he exclaims, ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας &c. For it was no small enterprise which the schoolmaster had undertaken, as by one of Solon's laws it was made a capital crime to steal from a gymnasium, or from any other place under public protection, a cloak, an oil cruet, or any thing whatever of the smallest value.⁵⁵ It might be said that this only adds to the harshness of the insinuation against Sokrates. But it is not worse than that of ἀσέβεια, and so many other insinuations of perjury, of peculation, of making away with public monies, &c. which we find in Aristophanes, and in the fragments of other comic writers, but which were unattended with any further serious consequences; for the invectives of comedy, although they

⁵⁵ Demosth. in Timocr. p. 756. Καὶ εἴ τις γ' ἐκ Λακείων ἢ ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ἢ ἐκ Κερσαύρων ἡμάτιον ἢ λεκάνιον ἢ ἄλλο τι φανερότατον ἐφέλατο—θάνατον ἐνομιάζεσθαι εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. Aristot. Probl. Sect. 29, 14. Ἐὰν μὲν τις ἐκ βαλανείου κλέψῃ ἢ ἐκ παλαίστρας—θανάτῳ ζημιούται. Comp. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 636 sq.

may have frequently given a direction to public opinion, were never adopted as accusations, or even as denunciations of the individual. We must not, however, allow ourselves, without further consideration, to view this anecdote as a mere poetical fiction of Aristophanes; as this supposition would be contradicted by the circumstance, that according to the scholiast, Eupolis also had charged Sokrates with larceny. The only imaginable ground for this conformity of the two comic writers must be sought for, not as Wolf humorously conjectures, in a frailty of youth, which Sokrates afterwards got the better of, but in some anecdote of the kind, originating in a circumstance unknown to us, as has often indeed occurred to philosophers absorbed in their meditations, that Sokrates may, in one of his absent moments, have pocketed something which did not belong to him, or exchanged it for his own; this would have been seized upon by the comic writers, who were ever on the watch to catch him out; here and there a false turn would be given to it, and Aristophanes would put it in connection with Sokrates' visits to the gymnasium. According to the lines *Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν οἶνοχόην ἔκλεψεν*,⁵⁶ Eupolis had represented him as having stolen a wine pitcher, whilst a song of Stesichoros was being sung at a feast, an opportunity indeed which admitted of such an occurrence. Perhaps a more perfect collection of the scholia than we possess at present, might contain some more satisfactory explanation on this subject; but I think it worth noticing, that Aristophanes has given to Chairephon, who in the other dramas, as well as in "The Clouds," is brought forward as the confidant

⁵⁶ Eupolis says, *Οἶνοχόην ἔκλεψεν* (παρὰ προσδοκίαν). Μέλεος τι ᾔσεν was, of course, expected.

of Sokrates, the appellation of κλέπτης.⁵⁷ Could but the life of Sokrates have furnished even the slightest ground, what a lucky hit for the comic poet, to join together also in the practice of this virtue, the master and the pupil !

But it may still be asked, what could have induced Aristophanes to clothe the story in the garb of a geometrical demonstration ? This leads us to the peculiar views entertained by Sokrates of geometrical studies, which he himself well understood, and which he had learnt from Theodoros of Samos,⁵⁸ whom Plato introduces in the Theaitetos as a mathematician,⁵⁹ but which he did not wish to be pursued further than was required for practical purposes.⁶⁰ Now the practical use to which the schoolmaster had, according to the scholar's account, with such surprising agility, turned the roasting spit, as soon as he had bent it into the shape of a geometrical instrument, would naturally give to Strepsiades the fullest conviction of the value of the studies pursued in the school of sophistry ; and it makes such a strong impression upon him, that he exclaims with astonishment, " This is, indeed, a cut above Thales !" and forthwith he begs that the door may

⁵⁷ Schol. Platon. ad Apolog. p. 331, ed. Bekker.

⁵⁸ Opp. P. II. vol. i. p. 181, sq.

⁵⁹ Ernesti on Xen. Mem. IV. 2, 10.

⁶⁰ Xen. Mem. IV. 7, 2. *Αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη εἶναι μαθητέον, ὥς ἵκανός τις γένοιτο, εἰ ποτε λήσσει, γῆν μίτρον ὁσπῶς ἢ πασσαλαθῆν ἢ παραδοῖναι ἢ διανεῖμαι, ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι.* These two last words, which have perplexed Ernesti in his Index, as well as Schneider in his Observations, can only mean the projecting and executing plans of buildings and similar work : as in Herodot. II. 101. *Τούτων δὲ ἀποδείξασθαι μνημόσυνα* and *τούτων μὲν πεσάυτα ἀποδείξασθαι*, as well as *ἔργον ἀπιδείξει*, which occurs in the same place, and in II. 148, have the same meaning.

be opened, and that he may see the mighty master. As soon as he gets a glimpse of the interior of this celebrated academy, and of its astronomical and geometrical apparatus, he instantly bethinks him how to turn them to account; and whilst, according to the explanation of the disciple, their purpose is to measure the whole earth, he finds them eminently useful in the repartition of foreign allotments. Thus whilst these characteristic accompaniments of the school were not merely of use to geometry as a lucrative trade,⁶¹ for both astronomy and geometry belonged to the course of studies taught by the greater part of the sophists, they had still their bond of connection with a specific peculiarity in the real Sokrates.

From the foregoing observations we may consider this exhibition of the head and director of the subtlety school in "The Clouds," as a caricature, in which many of the leading traits borrowed from the Sokrates of history, are worked up in a directly opposite sense, or are confounded with others diametrically opposed to them; and thus the comic conception becomes the direct contrast of that picture, which Plato gives us of the same philosopher, and in which the principle which peculiarly belonged to him, was idealized.

But in the composition of this his doctor of subtleties and refinements, a personage doubtless intended to catch the attention of the great mass of the poet's contemporaries, who judge not from truth and fact, but who confound together, according to outward appearances, what is like with what is unlike, what was it, which could have induced him to represent this character under the name and form of Sokrates?

⁶¹ Wolf on v. 639 of his translation.

⁶² Plato. Protagor. c. 26, ed. Heindorf.

Could there have been any thing like subornation by Anytos and Meletos, in order to pave the way for a criminal prosecution of this individual? The date of the accusation compared with that of the exhibition of "The Clouds," has long put this out of the question; although it cannot be denied that the main points of that accusation are contained in the play, and that the impression first made by "The Clouds," extended, as is evident from "The Apology" of Plato, quite down to the period of the proceedings against Sokrates.⁶³

Or was he excited against him, as some have imagined, by personal hatred, somewhat in the same manner as he was against Kleon, when he gave a representation of him in "The Knights?" But there was a good reason for his animosity against Kleon.⁶⁴ In the absence of all grounds of personal hatred between the comic poets, or Aristophanes in particular, and Sokrates, it has been accounted for by the supposition, that the philosopher used frequently to assist at the tragedies of Euripides, but was only once present at the exhibition of a comedy, and that he turned it into ridicule. This, however, is pure fiction, and rests upon no historical evidence. The fact was, the comic writers wanted no such ground for selecting Sokrates, so peculiarly prominent as he was, for the object of their satire.

In this respect it may well be supposed, that Aristophanes was only excited against Sokrates by the common hatred, which the comic writers entertained against philosophers in general. Indeed, the Scholia on v. 98 of "The Clouds," whilst they pass a correct judgment on the presumed personal or political ha-

⁶³ Plat. Apolog.

⁶⁴ Acharn. 377 sq.

tred of the poet against the philosopher, observe that the ridicule cast upon Sokrates does in no one instance exclusively apply to the philosophers, but mainly to the orators. Besides, philosophy was not yet domiciliated in Athens; her first arrival there was contemporaneous with the developement of comedy; and the philosophers exhibited many peculiarities and extravagancies, quite foreign to the usual tone and mode of existence at Athens. The characteristic alliance between the old national comedy and the old habits of the people, and their natural dislike of every thing extravagant or eccentric, form therefore a much more valid motive than any party hatred of the philosophers; and this motive comes out with peculiar energy and effect, in Aristophanes and in all his sentiments.

Nor can we say that the poet casts this ridicule upon Sokrates from pure mischief, or from an overflow of raillery and humour; Wieland, indeed, has attempted⁶⁵ to explain it in that sense, and his view of the matter has been of late years very generally adopted. Without denying the share which the spirit of satire may have had in this comic picture, we may nevertheless imagine another spring, which first put it in motion.

Aristophanes, for example, throws a ridicule on several other individuals by similar exhibitions, in regard to whom all these motives either existed not at all, or only partially; but, on a more intimate acquaintance with him, we easily discover how they were based on his own system of viewing public affairs, and upon the political opinions which he entertained. What for example could he have had

⁶⁵ In the Attisches museum, vol. iii. 1, § 57-sq.

to say against Meton, whom he introduces in "The Birds," prating as unmathematically, as Sokrates talks nonsensically in "The Clouds," and whom he finally dismisses with indignity? Wieland,⁶⁶ explains this by personal ill-will, as he refers also to Meton the allusion in "The Clouds" (v. 615) to the mistake, which had crept into the calendar:⁶⁷ although it be very uncertain, even according to Ideler,⁶⁸ whether in the year 424—3 B. C., in which "The Clouds" was exhibited, i. e. in the first year of the 89th Olympiad, the cycle of Meton was already introduced, or not; it is indeed more probable that the errors of the earlier astronomical calculations of Kleostratos were then at their highest point, and to this therefore, as Voss observes,⁶⁹ the allusion above mentioned may be more properly referred. In "The Birds," too, Voss justly remarks, that Meton himself is not turned into ridicule. But what the poet assails, is the arbitrary and despotic oppression, which was put in practice by the surveyors in new colonies, and in the admeasurements of the lands which were to be parcelled out, and which were imitated by others of that stamp, who were instantly on the spot to assist at the foundation of the birds' city in the clouds. Now Meton appears as the representative of the land surveyors: and as he was the most illustrious geometrician of his time, the dramatic character is more truly painted to the life, by being thus individualized, than could have been effected by giving to it a generic denomination. Lamachos too, of whom Aristophanes has on other occasions made

⁶⁶ On "The Birds," 992.

⁶⁷ The eighth illustration annexed to the translation.

⁶⁸ *Handbuch der Chronologie*, P. I. p. 322 sq.

⁶⁹ On v. 600 of his translation.

honourable mention,⁷⁰ is in "The Acharnians," conformably to the object of that piece, painted in a truly ridiculous and deplorable light, because the selfishness and vanity of the military commanders, whose representative or substitute is here the mask of Lamachos, were, in the view of the poet, opposed to the peace, which he considered profitable to the state. Agathon whom also in other places he praises,⁷¹ is in "The Thesmophoriazousai," held up to ridicule for his effeminate habits, and for the mawkish character of his poetry. This poetry, as well as the soft and rhetorical style of Euripides, announcing the decline of the art, and which is ridiculed in "The Acharnians," in "The Thesmophoriazousai," and in "The Frogs," and wherever else the poet could conveniently do so, was held by Aristophanes to be destructive of a manly and public discipline, and as likely to undermine the vigour of the nation. Even in Kleon he does not attack merely the individual enemy, but the perversity of the demagogues, which ever since the death of Perikles, was becoming more and more injurious to the commonwealth. And as his object is to represent that which is at any time assailed by him, strictly and rigorously, in the whole force of its absurdity and ridicule, he endeavours to attain his end, in the true spirit of comedy, by working out to their utmost limits certain fundamental traits, corresponding to the originals of his characters, but which if subjected to a direct comparison with those characters, and stripped of such artificial connection, might appear not even to belong to them.

Thus then it is not so much persons, as principles,

⁷⁰ Thesmoph. 841, ib. interp. Ran. 1039.

⁷¹ Ran. 84.

which Aristophanes attacks in "The Clouds," and in the principal characters of the play, particularly in that of Sokrates. In announcing these principles, it will not be necessary to develope the whole political system of the poet, but merely to note distinctly the points, in which the play of "The Clouds" bears upon it.

It has already been shown, by the sketch of the principal features of the story of the drama, that it is intimately connected with the wrangling and litigious character of the Athenians, fostered as this was by the relations between debtor and creditor at Athens. Many single attacks upon that state of things are also to be found in "The Clouds," and in other plays of our poet. According to line 1127, the Athenians are a people of fighting cocks, and only differ from them, as these last pass no psephisms or decrees. In line 1170 sq. where the various commentators may be compared, Strepsiades congratulates himself on receiving his son from the school of subtlety, exactly fitted to his own mind, and thoroughly instructed, after the fashion of his country, in the science of wrangling, and contradiction, and unblushing chicanery. In "The Birds," in which at line 40, the Athenians are compared to cicadæ (τέττιγες), which chirp upon the trees only two months in the year, whilst the former pass their whole lives in pleading in the courts of law,⁷² Euelpides (v. 116) says he is come with Peisthetairos to Epops, be-

⁷² Compare Xen. de Rep. Ath. 3, 2, 6, and 7, and Schneider's notes. In the last of these passages he has a happy emendation, *συνέκασαι* for *συνέκασαι*. Hüllmann had already adopted this reading in progr. De Atheniensium *ἐννομοσίαις ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀδικίαις* (Regiom. 1814) p. 7.

cause he had been a man as they were, had contracted debts as they had, and, as Strepsiades says too in "The Clouds," he did not like paying them. Many other similar allusions might also be adduced.⁷³

Now this fondness for litigation, which was a real national fatuity in Athens, offered on the one hand to the demagogues, who were heartily hated by Aristophanes, a welcome instrument for forwarding their own views. The system introduced by Perikles for carrying on the Peloponnesian war, which was severely censured by our poet, had crowded the people together within the city; and the leading demagogues kept them occupied with the business of the tribunals; they fed, too, a host of judges, who were annually chosen out of the mass, and a crowd of informers and orators: this pay of the Dicasts, as it was called, which had been first established by Perikles, and which was afterwards raised by Kleon to three oboli for each sitting, was increased by shares in deposit and forfeit monies, confiscations, and various other sources of emolument; and by these arts, whilst the public lost all remembrance of the quiet enjoyments of peace, the leaders were at liberty to pursue their own selfish ends by intrigues, whether for continuing the war, or negotiating for a truce. The active hostility of Aristophanes to this vicious propensity to law and lawsuits, breaks out on many other occasions,⁷⁴ but is nowhere so completely developed as in "The Wasps," the whole story of which piece springs out of it.

This same fatuity was no less efficient in furnishing materials and food for the sophistry, which had lately

⁷³ Comp. besides other passages Nub. 208, and Eccles. 657.

⁷⁴ Equitt. 51, 255 sq. 788 sq. 905, 1358 sq. &c.

found its way into Athens, and for the eloquence which, being based upon that sophistry, is to supply Strepsiades with the means of extricating himself from the debts in which he is involved. Aristophanes ascribes this sophistical oratory to the Koryphaios of its school, Gorgias, who is expressly put in connection with the passion for litigation in "The Wasps" (v. 421), and still more pointedly in "The Birds" (v. 1694 sq.), where he is designated, as one of the race of ἐγγλωττογάστορες, who sow and reap with their tongues, who gather grapes and figs with their tongues, that is, as a sycophantic and brawling advocate.

The older men who had risen to eminence in a time, when the prowess of the hand was more valued than the cunning of the tongue, were quite unfit to cope with this kind of oratory. The choros, therefore, of Elders in "The Acharnians" (v. 677-691), piteously complain of being persecuted and dragged before the tribunals, by the young flippant spokesmen of the day; but on the other hand, the younger part of the population being, for the same reason, the more susceptible of these impressions, and dazzled by the credit and influence, which this readiness of speech gave them in transacting political and judicial affairs, crowded into the new schools. Here too, fathers urged on by their ruling passions, and by a sense of their own deficiencies, often brought their own sons, as Strepsiades brings his son Pheidippides to the subtlety school in "The Clouds" (v. 35); and Chremylos in "The Plutus" would have done the same, had not the oracle advised him otherwise. The art which was here to be learned, required less application from the effeminate youths than military

exercises; and it gave easier and larger gains than war;⁷⁵ it was, therefore, more popular with the rising generation, who (as the old men complain in "The Wasps" v. 1114 sq. and 665 sq.), when they had learned its lessons, knew how to get rich by law-suits, without having handled an oar or a lance.

The occupation provided by such schools immediately withdrew the scholars from those exercises which tended to harden the body; and having, as Aristophanes says (v. 1045), emptied the palæstra, and filled the Thermai, they habituated the young men to a relaxed mode of life, introducing such effeminate and unmanly habits, that the poet was well entitled to represent loquaciousness and debauchery, as inseparable companions.⁷⁶ Self-conceit⁷⁷, a spirit of contradiction, disrespect to age, to their parents and to the magistrates,⁷⁸ and every characteristic of ill-breeding and corruption in the youth, all this was, in the opinion of Aristophanes, closely allied to⁷⁹ the sophistical and rhetorical tendency of the education substituted for that earlier instruction, which had strengthened at the same time the powers of the mind and body, and which had inured the youth of Athens to sobriety, modesty, and obedience; and he perceives in it a principle dangerous and menacing to all public affairs. In this relaxation and

⁷⁵ Nub. 921, and observations of Brunck, Wieland, and Voss.

⁷⁶ Thus in Acharn. 716. The young man in the court of justice is attended by an εἰρῦπρωκτος and a λάλος. Equitt. 878 sq.; Nub. 1089 sq.; Vesp. 687; Eccles. 112 sq. &c.

⁷⁷ Pac. 44.

⁷⁸ Nub. 993, 998, 1322 sq.; Vesp. 1037 sq.; Av. 1352 sq.; Ran. 1072.

⁷⁹ Nub. passim. and especially 961 sq. 986 sq. compared with Ran. 1013 sq. and 1087; Nub. 1053 sq. comp. with Ran. 1069 sq.; Vesp. 1066 sq.; Av. 1448 sq.

effeminacy of the youth, Aristophanes justly saw the germ of the corruption of the political and national character, which never had been of a very serious cast, and the decline of that valour of bygone days, to which Athens had been indebted for her power and her victories;⁸⁰ nor could he fail to see the source of the greatest mischief in a display of oratory, which looked not for truth or right, and which valuing only those subjective views, which were directed to immediate profit, and wavering with each shifting of the passions, substituted fine words and volubility of tongue for plain and simple statements:⁸¹ this, too, in a state, in which public speaking was the one and sole organ of all the concerns of the people, in the assembly and in the tribunals. A disposition of the youth, insensible to objective certainty, and therefore indifferent to truth and falsehood, arrogant as it was ignorant, presumptuously raising itself above all authority (such as Pheidippides brings with him from the school of the new wisdom,⁸² and which he especially announces in v. 1399 sq. and 1419 sq.), could not fail to bring into peril the constitution and the laws, particularly of a state depending on the absolute power of such a volatile and susceptible populace, as Aristophanes shows, in the passages of "The Clouds" already cited, and amongst many others, in v. 423, 430 sq. 912, 917 sq. 926 sq. 1018 sq. and 1399. Hence it is that one of the most important resolutions, which the poet makes the Demos in "The Knights," 1374 sq. enact after the renovation of his youth, is to put a real check to this

⁸⁰ Vesp. 1091 sq.; Nub. 959, 985 sq. comp. Ran. 1013 sq.

⁸¹ Plato Phædr. c. 113, ib. Heindorf.

⁸² Comp. Plato Sophist. c. 38 with Nub. 1040 sq.

system of education, and to its application, directing it on the contrary to those bodily exercises which prepared them for a state of war.

In this view Aristophanes looks upon the new system of education, as it proceeded from the school of sophistical eloquence, rigorously and strictly in the consequences which it might have, for the character of the young men, as they grew up into manhood, and through their means, for public and private discipline, and for the state itself.

Now Aristophanes had already in the *Δαιταλεῖς*, or Revellers, the earliest of his plays, four years before the exhibition of "The Clouds," introduced, as he tells us,⁸³ a comparison between the fruits of the old and the new fashioned system of education, in the characters of two sons, the one a well-bred and prudent youth, the other a foolish debauchée; in which contrast we may, in a manner, trace the groundwork of the *λόγος δίκαιος*, and the *λόγος ἄδικος* in "The Clouds." The last he calls also *καταπύγων*, and the first, *σώφρων*; and taking this in combination with the remarkable fragments from scenes of that play preserved by Galen,⁸⁴ in which both sons must have been on the stage together with the father, and which Seidler has ably illustrated,⁸⁵ it is clear, that in the fop, whom Galen calls *ἀκόλαστος* (the epithet which is also given to Pheidippides, by the chorus in "The Clouds," v. 1348), the study of rhetoric is coupled with debauchery and contempt of old age, quite in the sense so prevalent in the mind of Aristophanes. The father, for example, first exa-

⁸³ Nub. 529, and the Scholia upon the passage.

⁸⁴ *Τῶν Ἰπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις* in prooemio.

⁸⁵ *Brevis disputatio de Aristophanis fragmentis*. Hal. 1818, p. 12 18.

mines him, and reads to him some *γλῶτται*, moral sentences, out of Homer, which his son seems unable to explain. The brother, who has been brought up in the old fashion, evinces a better acquaintance with them. Then, in order to show that the latter is, on the other hand, inexperienced in legal matters, he of the new school questions him on some difficult points of the laws of Solon.⁸⁶ Further on, a discussion takes place between the father and the son, in which the former quietly replies to the abusive and passionate language of the youth, by a scoffing ridicule of single expressions he makes uses of, accompanied with remarks on the kind of persons whom he has chosen to associate with.⁸⁷ In this manner

⁸⁶ Seidler has successfully restored the line belonging to this passage. 'Ο μὲν οὖν σὺς, ἐμὸς ἔ' οὗτος ἀδελφός, φρασάτω τί καλοῦσιν ἰδνύουσ. The following question *τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἶ ποιεῖν* is evidently corrupt, and I would read, *τί ποτ' ἐστὶ ποιῆσθαι*, so as to make it the close of the following anapaest. We may take *ποιεῖσθαι* simply from *δημοποιήσεις*, and *ἰσοποιήσεις*, or the admission to Athenian burghership, and adoption in the terms and laws of Solon, and which were applicable to legal proceedings on the right of citizenship, on conjugal and paternal relations, on inheritances, &c. Amongst other authorities may be quoted the undoubted law of Solon in Demosth. adv. Steph. p. 1133, *ὅσοι μὴ ἐπεποιήντο*. Compare Petit. leg. Att. I. tit. 3 and 4, and VI. tit. 6, and many of the passages there quoted. The proposed change is somewhat violent; but these fragments are in a very mutilated state.

⁸⁷ This fragment is also quoted by Elmsley on 719 of "The Acharnians," and in the first line of it he reads *ἀλλ' εἰ σπαρέλλη* instead of *ἄλλε, σπαρέλλη*, as proposed by Brunck, and retained by Porson and Seidler. I doubt, however, although old men were nicknamed *σπαρίς* and *τέμνος* see Bergler on the *Lysistrata*, 372, a passage quoted also by Seidler, whether the words *μέρον* and *ταρῖα* even in conjunction with either *σπαρίς* or *τέμνος* could have the same application, and whether, therefore, we might read as a vocative with Seidler and Elmsley the line in question. "*ἄλλε, σπαρέλλη καὶ μέρον καὶ ταρῖα*. But old people are frequently designated in raillery by youths, as things of this description, or others used in funerals; or such things are recommended to them. Plut. 277, Vesp. 1365, *Lysistr.*

the old gentleman brings together several individuals, who may have influenced the education of the young men of Athens, or in whom this education may have been reflected, as in a mirror. The first of these is Lysistratos, whom Aristophanes characterises in "The Acharnians" (v. 855 sq.) and in "The Wasps," (v. 788), as a man thoroughly drenched in villainy, practising every species of wickedness, and the disgrace of his demos; then come the rhetoricians; after them Alkibiades the pattern of the young nobility of his time; and finally the attorneys of the courts, who are named along with Thrasymachos.⁸⁸ In the fragment of this piece preserved by Athenaios, XV. c. 14, p. 694, ἀ: Ἔασον δὴ μοι σκολιόν τι λαβὼν⁸⁹

599 sq. The *καταπύγων*, so learned in the law, might, in the dispute with his father, have let something fall from him about a *γραφὴ παρανοίας*, as Pheidippides in "The Clouds," v. 845, by which, if he gained his suit, the father would lose all control over his own property; and if he then asked, what would be left to him—the answer was clear: "Enough, a narrow bier—a mummy and a shroud." This also explains the word *ἄλις*, the difficulty of which expression, if the others are taken as words of scorn and insult, had suggested to Elmsley the change which he proposed.

⁸⁸ I am inclined to think that in the father's last speech—

Οἶμ, ὦ Θρασύμαχε,
Τίς τοῦτο τῶν συνηγόνων γηρύεται;

The old man calls his son a doughty adversary, ὦ Θρασύμαχε, in allusion to the well known sophist of that name, and he thus places him on a par with that personage.

⁸⁹ Sub. *λέραν*, or *μυρρίνην*, as in Nub. 1364, and in the fragment from the *Πελαργοί* in the Scholiast on Vesp. 1239, for both these instruments were taken by the guests when they sang in turn at table. See Ilgen's *disquis. de scoliis poesi*, p. cxlviii. sq. clxi. sq. The notion which Brunck (addend. ad Aristoph. fragm. p. 168) has borrowed from Burmann, that wherever *πρὸς μυρρίνην* occurs in this construction, we must understand Myrrhina, the courtesan, sitting with them at table, may be admitted as an allusion in particular passages, but certainly could not have been intended by Aristophanes in this passage of "The Clouds." In the *Δαιταλεῖς*, indeed, *λαβὼν* may be explained without either *λέραν* or *μυρρίνην*.

Ἀλκαίου κ' Ανακρέοντος, "come, take and sing me a scolion of Alkaios, or of Anakreon," the challenge to sing an old scolion at table, and accompany it with the lyre, is identically the same as that, which, according to Strepsiades' narrative in "The Clouds," v. 1353 sq. began the quarrel with Pheidippides, and it was probably addressed to the ill-educated son. Another fragment in Athenaios, IV. c. 25, p. 184, e:—

Ὅστις αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραις νῦν κατατέτρημαι χρώμενος,
Εἵτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;

I, who have spent my life 'mid pipes and flutes,—
Thou bidst me now go dig?

seems to be the answer of the good-for-nothing fellow, who has been brought up in the doctrine of the λόγος ἄδικος, in "The Clouds" (v. 1072), "that happiness consists in sensual indulgence;" and he therefore makes the same reply to the advice given to him, to change his mode of life and to be industrious, which the young sycophant in "The Birds," who had been a disciple in the same school, gives in v. 1432, to Peisthetairos.

Τὶ γὰρ πάθω; σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

"What shall I do? I know not how to dig." It is plain that this καταπύγων, eloquent as he is, and learned in the law, has also studied the noble art of sycophancy, from the fragment preserved in Suidas, voc. σεῖσαι:

Ἔσειον, ἤτουν χρήματ', ἠπείλον, πάλιν
Ἔσυκοφάντουν.

"I bullied, called for money—threatened,
and again
Betook me to my sycophantic tricks."

On the other hand, the expression, ἐψυχρολουτρήσαμεν of Julius Pollux, VII. 168, compared with v. 961 and 1044 of "The Clouds," suits with the character of the olden times, and probably belongs to the old father, or to the σώφρων, who followed in his steps. In short, Aristophanes seems to have painted in the Δαιταλεῖς, a youth of the new system of education, who lived and existed in a thorough contempt of the old discipline, and only aspired to a proficiency in sophistical oratory; and this he contrasts with earlier and better times, and with the system of education, which was founded upon the spirit of those times.

Now it is evident that the poet had in view some kind of relationship between this play of the Δαιταλεῖς, and "The Clouds," not only from a comparison of this last mentioned piece with the fragments which I have quoted, but particularly from the circumstance, that in the parabasis introduced into the second edition of "The Clouds," in which the poet complains of the unfavourable reception which the first had met with from the judges (v. 528 sq.), he makes especial mention of the success which the σώφρων and the καταπύγων had obtained in the Δαιταλεῖς, as if this drama too, connected as it was with the other, was entitled to have expected the same applause. We are then fully warranted in considering the play of "The Clouds" in a three-fold relation, i. e. to the Δαιταλεῖς, the Ἰππεῖς, and the Σφήκες. In the first of these three, the old and new system of education are contrasted with each other, by holding forth to the public living examples of each; in "The Knights," the evil effects of the daily increasing crowd of orators and demagogues are prominently brought forward; and in "The Wasps," the passion for lawsuits and adju-

dications, so profitable to those two classes, and ruinous to all others, forms the principal subject of the story. But whilst in these three plays the evils of bad education are put forward more or less directly, and with some pointed allusions too, as in v. 1037 sq. of "The Wasps," the final cause and root of the mischief are comparatively kept in the back ground.

In "The Clouds" however the poet introduces us to the original source, whence, according to his view, this new fangled and pernicious system of education took its rise, namely, the school of sophistical eloquence. He represents the Phrontisterion or subtlety shop, as its seat and centre of union, this being necessary in a dramatic point of view; and he concentrates in the schoolmaster those essential properties of the school, which are to explain his purpose, interwoven as they are with others, which belong to the real Sokrates, under whose name and mask he clothed the dramatic personage. This individual centralization was indispensably requisite for the conduct of the drama; and this is the poet's only excuse for representing Sokrates within the walls of a school, as the philosopher himself was continually moving about in public, a contradiction, which has been considered as a convincing proof that the whole exhibition, as we have it, could not have been intended really for him.⁵⁰ Aristophanes lays open to us, with the colouring, indeed, of a caricature, the whole interior sayings and doings of the school; he draws a sketch of the methods and means of instruction peculiar to it; and he shews the extent to which the mischief has already gone, since the λόγος δίκαιος is unable to defend himself; and as, *πειρία*, in

⁵⁰ Reisig. l. c. p. xxvii.

v. 608 of "The Plutus," after her earnest eulogy of the discipline of the good old times, is forced to quit the field, he too is reduced to the necessity of going over to the other side; the poet shows us, likewise, what results we are to expect from the school, what immediate calamities threaten not merely the parents themselves, who were blind enough to encourage such a system of education, but the common-weal also; and finally, what the people ought to do, to annihilate the evil at its source.

The Sokrates in "The Clouds" must not, therefore, be considered as an individual, or as the copy of an individual; but as the principal personages in Aristophanes are for the most part symbolical, he, too, must be viewed as symbolical, that is, as the representative of the school and of its principle. And as we see in him a good deal, which answers to the individual, whose name and mask he bears, and much too, which is heterogeneous to him, although by means of certain allusions, and the ingenuity of dramatic combination, these two are amalgamated together; so also in the characters of Strepsiades and Pheidippides, many traits which are perfectly apposite to the objects which they are intended to typify, are combined with many which are extravagantly caricatured, and the creatures of poetic fiction. Strepsiades for example, whose name is explained by his tendency to evil (v. 1455 comp. v. 88), and by the pleasure he takes in distorting right (v. 434), is the representative of the good old time, working out its own destruction by the abandonment of the laborious, frugal, peasant's life, by illustrious marriages, and female influence, by the extravagant life which his son leads in consequence of it, and by the debts and lawsuits which this occasions, all of which open the door to sophistical eloquence;

or if you will, he is the representative of the elder portion of the Athenian people, in this dangerous crisis of their affairs. As in some other characters of the comedies of Aristophanes, which present the people under different aspects, for example, the Demos himself in "The Knights," and Philokleon in "The Wasps," there is always a groundwork of truth and honesty, but which is alloyed with falsehood, and led into error, and whose cure and restoration to a healthy and vigorous state and a right view of things, form the end and aim of the dramas; so likewise in "The Clouds," a sickly disposition of the people, the nature and bent of which are pourtrayed under the character of Strepsiades, in the most lively colours of caricature, is represented as the school, in which that personage seeks the means of obtaining the object of his desires, but is cured the moment that the full operation of those means is unexpectedly brought to light. Pheidippides on the other hand is the picture of the new or modern times, in the young men of fashion just coming out into the world, whose struggle with the older generation is pointed out by words of derision and raillery, as for example, Κρόνιππος, in v. 1070 of "The Clouds," and many other such expressions, which appear in our poet's pieces, and the fruits of which the Birds exhibit in the parricide (compare 911 of "The Clouds") and in the sycophant. The fashionable and chevaleresque passion for horses and carriages in the young men of the time, which, to judge from the fragments of the *Ανάγυρος*, must have formed the subject of that lost piece, and which is also alluded to in *Equit.* 556 sq. *Av.* 1472 sq. was accompanied by *λαλία* (loquaciousness) and her whole train of *καταπηγοσύνη*, and vicious propensities; and yet how much better would it be, as Aristophanes

implies, to leave the youth to these pursuits, and honourably bear up against the lesser evil of the debts, which had grown out of them, than that from selfish and dishonest motives encouragement should be given to what was calculated to poison the youths in their hearts' core, and thereby to bring disorder into all domestic and political relations! In this sense, when Pheidippides expresses his delight and satisfaction with what he had gained from the art of oratory, as it put him in a situation to prove that it was right for a son to correct his father, Strepsiades retorts upon him in these words :—

“ Ride on and drive away, 'fore Jove ! I'd rather keep
A coach and four, than be thus beat and mauled.”

This, then, is the lesson, which Aristophanes would give to his contemporaries in Athens, by “ The Clouds.” If one of the two must have its way, let the young men indulge themselves in their horses and carriages, however it may distress you; but check the influence of these schools, unless you wish to make a scourge for yourselves and for the state; exterminate in yourselves that dishonest propensity which entangles you in lawsuits, and which, by means of those schools, will make your sons the instruments of your ruin! The younger population he strives to deter from the same fate by a display of the manners of the school, and of the pale faces and enervated limbs which come out of it (v. 102, 504, 1012, 1171).

We cannot, therefore, say that the play of “ The Clouds” is pointed at any one definite individual; but it reproves one general and dangerous symptom of the times, in the whole habits and life, political and domestic, of the Athenians, developing it in its

source, in every thing which fostered it, and made it attractive, in the instruments by which it was established, and which gave to it its pernicious efficiency ; and thus whilst he strictly and logically deduces real effects from real causes, as far as this developement is concerned, the personages which bear a part in the action, are consequently one and all historical. Hence we can very well understand the striking references in particular characters to certain individuals ; and I think it more than probable, that such reference is intended, not merely in the personage which bears the name of Sokrates, but also in that of Pheidippides ; whilst in the character of Strepsiades the poet only meant to point to the people in general, perhaps with a slight collateral allusion, of which more will be said hereafter.

The excessive love of horses exhibited in Pheidippides, and the extravagance consequent upon it, the rapid strides too, which he makes in readiness of speech, in debauchery, and in selfish arrogance, and the relation in which he stands to Sokrates, evidently point, without further search, to Alkibiades, in whom we find all these features united, on whom all the young men of the higher classes of his time pinned their faith, and whom they assisted a few years afterwards, in carrying through his political projects.⁹¹

The attention of Aristophanes being so preeminently directed to public affairs, and to the turns

⁹¹ Thucyd. VI. 12 and 13. 18, *καὶ μὴ ὑμᾶς*, &c. 28, Plutarch Nic. 22. That Alkibiades had been the chief of a *ῥαυρία*, we may fairly conclude from Isokrates' oration, *περὶ τοῦ Ξέρου*, p. 348, a. Krüger in Dionys. Halicarn. historiograph. p. 263 ; there are other grounds also for this hypothesis.

which they took in Athens, Alkibiades was, of course, a personage of great importance in his eyes, and he was a contemporary of the Aristophanic comedy almost during its whole course, from the first introduction of it to its end.

Already in the *Δαιταλεῖς* Aristophanes, as I have shown, had represented Alkibiades in conjunction with individuals, from whom this unbridled and dissolute youth (*ἀκόλαστος καὶ καταπύγων*) had learned the first elements of his moral principles and conduct, and the poet had thus pointed him out as one of that stamp.

In the *Acharnians*, Alkibiades is described, as clearly and decidedly as possible, by the chorus of old men, as one of those ready-tongued youngsters, who persecute the elders with suits at law (v. 680), and who, as is said in v. 1018 of "The Clouds," possessed

*γλῶττὰν μεγάλην, πυγὴν μικράν,
κῶλην μεγάλην, ψήφισμα μακρόν.*

And according to the proposal of this chorus (v. 715 sq.), a decree was to be enacted, that hereafter old men only were to bring the old into the courts of justice,

Τοῖς νέοισι δ' ἐνρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χῶ Κλεινίου.

This coincides with the whole tendency of the play of "The Clouds," and brings Alkibiades into it as a ready orator and a debauchée, as the fruit of that school, from which, as the favourite pupil of Sokrates he seems to have issued, in short, as the type of Pheidippides; although all the traits attributed to this last are not to be looked for individually in Alkibiades, and although his name does not occur in

the course of the drama. Moreover, the supposed lineage of Pheidippides, whose mother (v. 46) was the niece of a Megakles, the frequent mention of that uncle (v. 70, 124, 825), and that of his descent from a celebrated ancient lady of the name of *Κοισύρα*,⁹² most especially and distinctly point to Alkibiades, whose mother, Deinomache, was herself a daughter of Megakles,⁹³ and from whose family, the Alkmaionidai, to which *Κοισύρα* belonged, he had inherited his strong passion for a well-furnished stable.⁹⁴ This passion is, indeed, brought forward in the care taken by Pheidippides' mother, that the word *ἵππος* should be introduced somehow or other into his name; as in truth it did occur also in *Ἰππαρέτη*,⁹⁵ the daughter of Hipponikos, and wife of Alkibiades. With all these circumstances to point it out, the part of Pheidippides in the play could not have failed to remind the Athenians of Alkibiades, who, about this time, or somewhat earlier, began to neglect, as Isokrates says,⁹⁶ the contests of the gymnasia (and this is an important matter in reference to the play of "The Clouds"), and to devote himself to those equestrian and charioteering pursuits, to which he was indebted for his victory at the Olympic games. This victory must have been gained by him, according to his speech in opposition to Nikias,⁹⁷ long before the first year of the 91st Olym-

⁹² V. 48 and 800, with the notes, &c. Compare the commentators on Pac. 453.

⁹³ Plut. Alcib. c. 1.

⁹⁴ Herodot. VI. 121, ib. Valchen. Pindar Pyth. VII. and Boeckh's notes, whose Treatise on the Megakles probably meant in "The Clouds," should be consulted, p. 303.

⁹⁵ Plut. Alcib. c. 8. Isocr. or. de bigis, p. 509, ed. Bekker.

⁹⁶ L. c. compare Plut. Alcib. c. 11.

⁹⁷ Thucyd. VI. 16.

piad; and Dodwell, with great probability, places it between the first years of the 90th and 91st Olympiad.⁹⁸ The name too of Pheidippides, in its reference to this passion, is not a pure invention of Aristophanes, but it has a deeper meaning than one is inclined to give it at first sight, as merely combining the father's parsimony with the hereditary fondness for horses in the family of the mother. The name forms at once a connecting link between the youth himself, and that Pheidippos, son of Thessalos,⁹⁹ who was one of the ancestors of the Thessalian Aleuadai, famous for their breed of horses;¹⁰⁰ and, at the same time, by its final syllables, it keeps up the allusion to Alkibiades, who had likewise learned the science of the manège, both in riding and driving, in Thessaly; and the same comparison with the Aleuadai is implied, which we find also in Satyros,¹⁰¹ who tells us that Alkibiades spent his time in Thessaly, breeding horses and driving cars, with more fondness for horseflesh even than the Aleuadai. An allusion, also, to the well known infantine *τραυλισμός* of Alkibiades, or his defect in the articulation of certain letters,¹⁰² which is, I think, to be observed in v. 1381, as well as in v. 44 of "The Wasps," (though in this last passage it is more pointed, and with justice too, for on this occasion he had faltered to some purpose), could not fail to fix the attention of the Athenian public on this remarkable personage. If then, the actor, who represented Pheidippides, did but imitate slightly

⁹⁸ Annal. Thucyd. ad an. XVII. bell. Pelop. and also on Thuc. VI. 30.

⁹⁹ Homer Il. II. 678.

¹⁰⁰ Buttman on the Aleuadai in his Essays in the Transactions of the Academy of Sciences, 1822-3. Hist. and Philol. Class.

¹⁰¹ In Athenæus XII. c. 9, p. 534-6. 'Εν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐὲν ἵπποτροφῶν καὶ ἡμιοχῶν, τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἱππικιώτερος.

¹⁰² Plutarch Alcib. c. 1.

this τραυλισμός, in appropriate passages, and if he bore in his mask and conduct any resemblance to Alkibiades, there was no further occasion whatever for his name; and we need not have recourse to the supposition, that his not being mentioned by name in the play was owing to any fear of Alkibiades, who did not understand such raillery on the part of the comic poets; this at least is evident from an anecdote told, of the revenge which he took upon Eupolis, who had violently attacked him in his comedy of the *Βάπται*, and who is said to have been drowned by him in the voyage to Sicily with the expedition,¹⁰³

¹⁰³ See the Scholion on Aristeides given by Creuzer, ad Plotin. de Pulchrit. p. 405. Compare Petav. ad Themist. p. 434. Kanngiesser's "Old Comic Theatre at Athens," p. 124, and Buttman on the Kotyttia and the Baptai, p. 215 sq. The source (omitted in p. 219) of Valla's notice on the words of Alkibiades, when he is said to have thrown Eupolis into the sea, is in the passage above quoted from the Scholia on Aristeides. And if the violation of the mysteries, of which Alkibiades was accused, formed the subject of the Baptai, as I think, Buttman has shown to be probable, it follows from its contents, and from the anecdote, that this piece must have been exhibited between that profanation and the Sicilian expedition. At least, we cannot conclude with Schneider (on Xenophon's Polit. p. 470), from the Scholia on v. 552 of "The Clouds," that that play must have been brought out one year after "The Knights" of Aristophanes. For this opinion rests on a misconstruction of the Scholiast's words: 'Ευπολις δὲ ἐν ταῖς βάπταις τοῦναντίον φησὶν, ὅτι συνεποίησεν Ἀριστοφάνει (not *Αριστοφάνης*, as in the Leipsic edition, and as would agree with the words of Eupolis quoted in the Scholia), τοῦς ἱππῆας λέγει δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν παράβασιν φησὶ δὲ κάκιστος τοῖς ἱππῆας συνεποίησα πρὸ φαλακροῦ καὶ ὠρητάρην. This does not imply that Aristophanes wrote "The Knights" contemporaneously with the *Βάπται*, but that Eupolis had assisted Aristophanes in writing "The Knights." Diog. Laert. II. 5, 18, uses the same expression of Sokrates, ἐδόκει δὲ συνεπιεῖν Εὐαπίδῃ. By these words Eupolis contradicts the reproach made to him by Aristophanes in the parabasis, which he has introduced into the second edition of "The Clouds" (v. 653), as if his *Μαριᾶς* was only a perverted copy of "The Knights," for he says that he, on the contrary, had himself contri-

though probably it did not proceed to that extremity. We need not, it is plain, have recourse to this supposition, in order to account for the poet's having omitted to mention him by name, as the other characteristics by which he was designated were sufficiently complete and intelligible for comic representation; and the whole was effected with much more freedom and arch roguery, than if, in addition to that of Sokrates, the name likewise of Alkibiades had crudely destroyed the whole riddle, it being already quite *piquant* enough for a contemporary audience. The proof of an allusion in "The Clouds" to Alkibiades, and to the youths who shared in his pursuits and disposition, is confirmed also by the second argument prefixed to the play, and by the notice it contains, that Alkibiades and his party had prevented the first prize being awarded to Aristophanes; from which it is evident, even were the fact not probable in itself, that a tendency hostile to Alkibiades and his friends was perceived even by the ancients in this drama. And if the poet wished to frighten and deter the youth from the studies of the school, the representation of the pale shadowy forms of the juvenile pupils, who frequented it, particularly of Pheidipides, who so rapidly underwent this metamorphosis (v. 1171), could have hit no one so aptly as the handsome and vain Alkibiades, who had now, for a long time, as he continued to do also in his riper years, done every thing in his power to add to his stature, and preserve his figure;¹⁰⁴ and who, therefore, in this

buted his assistance and his poetry to the bald-pated Aristophanes. Whence it follows, that the *Βάπται*, in which Eupolis uses this expression, must have been exhibited after the *Μαρκῆς*, that is, after the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad.

¹⁰⁴ Athen. XII. c. 9, p. 534 sq.

sudden change, must doubtless have appeared as extraordinary in his own eyes, as he was made ridiculous in those of the spectators.

This reference of the part of Pheidippides to Alkibiades is still further strengthened by the following circumstances, which though not noticed in "The Clouds," yet harmonize with the contents of the play, and in all probability coincide with the period of its exhibition. It was about this time that the intimacy between Alkibiades and Sokrates was at its height, as the flight from Delion took place in the winter of the first year of the 89th Olympiad, that is, in the year in which "The Clouds" was represented;¹⁰⁵ and the share they both had in this engagement, and the assistance which Alkibiades gave to Sokrates,¹⁰⁶ were manifest proofs of that intimacy. Alkibiades also about this time must have been deeply engaged in public affairs. The commencement of his career is announced by the expression of Aristophanes concerning him in "The Acharnians," which takes for granted that he had already frequently pleaded in the courts of justice; and certainly before the third year of the 89th Olympiad he had been mainly instrumental in doubling the tribute which was exacted from the subjugated allies of Athens,¹⁰⁷ a fact which gave additional importance to the allusion intended by Aristophanes.

I do not venture to determine what may have been the precise age of Alkibiades at the time of the exhibition of "The Clouds," as there is known to be much uncertainty in the chronology of his life; but I think I may safely rest upon the fact that his father

¹⁰⁵ Thucyd. IV. 89 sq. Dindorf. XII. 69.

¹⁰⁶ Plato Sympos. Opp. VII. P. 2, p. 463. Plut. Alk. c. 7.

¹⁰⁷ Boeckh's Political Economy of the Athenians.

was killed at the battle of Koroneia, Ol. 83, 2, leaving two sons, Alkibiades and his younger brother Kleinias;¹⁰³ consequently Alkibiades cannot have been born later than that year. It would weaken this argument, if it could be proved, that the defeat of the Athenians at Koroneia took place at a later period of time; but the chronological arrangement of the plays of Aristophanes agrees very well with it. For the poet could not possibly have painted that statesman in his proper character so strongly and so definitely in the *Δαιταλεῖς*, which was exhibited, Ol. 88, 1, if he had not already made himself conspicuous, and attracted public notice; and this could not consistently have taken place be-

¹⁰³ Plato Alkib. l. c. 18 comp. with Portag. c. 29. Isocr. de big. p. 508, ed. Bekker. Plut. Alkib. c. 1. On this subject I am inclined entirely to agree with Meier, who, in the preface to the catalogue of lectures in the University of Grieswald, for the summer half year of 1820, has endeavoured to ascertain with accuracy the year in which Alkibiades was born. Further, I shall only observe, that I consider the "First Alkibiades" which Meier has here made use of, is, in fact, of as little use in making out the chronological details of that statesman's life, as it is quite incapable in regard to its contents of being, as some might think, put upon a parallel with "The Clouds." I am induced to entertain this opinion, first, because it is in contradiction with the genuine writings of Plato, as for example, that Sokrates had already several years before (*ποσούτων ἐτῶν*) separated himself from Alkibiades, who was, in fact, not yet twenty years old; whereas, this intimacy was still in existence in the first year of the 89th Olympiad, at the time of the flight from Delion. It is also inconsistent with itself, in stating that this happened before the death of Perikles, that is five years earlier. All historical grounds in defence of this composition, the unguineness of which Schleiermacher has sufficiently shown from internal proofs, ought to be considered as gratuitous suppositions. Alkibiades intending to make his first appearance in a few days (c. 4 and 7) as an orator on state affairs, is induced by Sokrates to see the importance of such a step, and how unprepared and unripe he is for it.

fore his 18th year, at which age the Athenian youths were inscribed amongst the men, and were no longer under their fathers' control;¹⁰⁹ it was also the age when they were entitled to be enrolled amongst the citizens, and admitted to take part in public affairs.¹¹⁰

The conversation upon the laws, which, according to Xenophon,¹¹¹ Alkibiades then a youth not twenty years old is said to have held with Perikles, and which proves what a subtle master he already was in the science of political dialectics, must be ascribed to this period of time, that is, between his eighteenth and twentieth year. This conversation has the true Sokratic form, and Perikles himself calls it,¹¹² σοφιστεσθαι, dealing in sophistical subtleties, an art which he too had practised in his younger days: a circumstance, by the bye, which ought to be brought into the account, in appreciating the character attributed to the dramatic Sokrates in "The Clouds." About this time also, or at all events anterior to the Δαιταλείς, we must place the crafty counsel, which Alkibiades gave to his uncle Perikles, when embarrassed by being required to give an account of the expenditure of the monies deposited in Delos,¹¹³ that he should not bethink himself how to give in the account, but rather how he might avoid giving it (δεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ

¹⁰⁹ Böckh in the Preface to the Catalogue of Lectures in the University of Berlin, for the summer half year of 1819, p. 8 sq.

¹¹⁰ Schömann de comitiis, p. 76, sq. Compare especially what relates to the right of suffrage. Böckh as above... for the winter half year of 1819, p. 5, sq.

¹¹¹ Mem. I. 2, 40 sq.

¹¹² Ib. § 46.

¹¹³ Plut. Pericl. c. 23; Alcib. c. 7; Dindorf. XII. 38: though this last author says too much in the words παῖς ὢν τῇν ἡλυσίαν. Compare Meier as above, p. 6.

πῶς ἀποδῶ τὸν λόγον σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πῶς μὴ ἀποδῶ), in consequence of which, Perikles gained his point in the presence of the people by his celebrated εἰς τὸ δέον ἀνήλωκα. A regard to this counsel and to its application, seems also to have had its influence on the play of "The Clouds," and to have floated in the mind of the poet when inditing some of the most prominent passages in the play; for as Voss, in conformity with the received chronology,¹¹⁴ considers Alkibiades to have been twenty-three years of age at the time of "The Acharnians;" he could not have been less than twenty-five when "The Clouds" was exhibited. It is most striking in the allusion which the poet puts into the mouth of Strepsiades, when Pheidippides asks him about the cloak and slippers which had disappeared:

Ὡσπερ Περικλῆς, εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα.

"Like Perikles, I have lost them for a good purpose." Here the old gentleman puts himself, as it were, in the situation of Perikles. Indeed throughout the whole piece he is similarly circumstanced with that statesman, is in great embarrassment respecting his debts, occupied in earnest deliberation and eager enquiries how to discover the means of avoiding payment. This, however, he is unable to learn in the school of Sokrates. His accomplished son however soon produces a string of cunning devices, by which he forthwith helps his father out of all his difficulties. May we not imagine, that Aristophanes had here in his mind, how some years before Perikles who had himself

¹¹⁴ In the translation of Aristophanes on v. 725 of "the Acharnians."

been a follower or companion of Sokrates, had been unable to extricate himself from similar embarrassments, though Alkibiades, a much younger pupil of the same master, ever had at command on such occasions some shrewd advice for his uncle and guardian? and may not the poet have given the key to his meaning by putting this parody into the mouth of Strepsiades? We shall return to this hereafter. It will be no objection to such hypothesis, that Pheidippides, in "The Clouds," is still under paternal control, from which Alkibiades had been delivered some years before; or that Alkibiades was connected with Sokrates long before he gave himself up to horse-racing; and that the reverse is the case in "The Clouds:" inasmuch as the poet's intention being to exhibit the cause and the effect of this system of education, it was not in his power to maintain such a precise parallelism of events and circumstances; but he was obliged to allude to many, which were quite unconnected with, as well as later than the period of time, in which the drama presents to us the type of Alkibiades. In this respect he had a right to take greater liberties even than Plato has so frequently done in his dialogues.

To follow up still further Aristophanes' allusions to Alkibiades, we see him in the following year in "The Wasps" (v. 44 sq.) busying himself in the assembly of the people in the Pnyx. In this passage he is rallied with having by means of his lisping tongue got the better of one of Kleon's lickspittles.

In the succeeding year, when Alkibiades, as I have before observed, had become a more remarkable personage in the management of public affairs, the chorus in "The Peace" (v. 150) lay their

maledictions upon any one, who, from the ambition of military command, refused to assist in dragging the goddess of peace out of the dungeon, in which she was interred; and the Scholia, as well as all the commentators, agree in referring this to Alkibiades. That is highly probable, as Kleon had now met his fate under the walls of Amphipolis, as the hopes of obtaining peace, which Aristophanes encourages in the comedy bearing that name, were grounded upon his death and upon that of Brasidas, and as Kleon could not, as Florens Christianus thinks, have been comprehended in the curses vented by the choros. Of the other principal commanders of the time, Nikias Laches and Lamachos soon after assisted in concluding, first the truce, and then the alliance, with the Lacedæmonians;¹¹⁵ and whilst Lamachos, although later he was chosen one of the joint commanders of the Sicilian expedition, showed no eagerness, as far as we learn from the historians, for continuing the war, Nikias was decidedly against it; and he had no other opponent than Alkibiades, who from ambitious and selfish views, which Thukydides,¹¹⁶ cited also by the Scholiast, details to us, succeeded at last in bringing on a renewal of hostilities. However, as Aristophanes (v. 304 and 1290 sq.) expressly names Lamachos as fond of fighting, and as opposed to peace, we may reasonably admit that he also was comprehended in the curses of the choros; the same may be said of v. 295, where Trygaios says it is now time to draw out Eirene "before any other Hammerer of war prevent it." Paulmier¹¹⁷ refers this last exclusively to Alkibiades.

There can be no doubt that this individual was

¹¹⁵ Thucyd. V. 19, 24, 43.

¹¹⁶ Id. VI. 12 fin. 15 init.

¹¹⁷ Palmer. exerc. in auct. Græc. p. 744.

already at that period big with his ambitious projects, and was now setting his engines to work in that spirit. These projects were based upon the continuation of the war, and the extending of its theatre of action, particularly on the Sicilian expedition, to which there is also an allusion in "The Peace" (v. 250), and which the Athenians had long had in their minds.¹¹⁸ For when the fifty years truce with Sparta had been brought about, namely in the third year of the 89th Olympiad, the same in which "The Eirene" of Aristophanes was exhibited (though misunderstanding still existed, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of some of its conditions), it was Alkibiades alone, who pressed the denunciation of that truce, who retarded the conclusion of one between Argos and Lacedæmon, who by his artful management frustrated the negotiations, which Nikias was engaged in with the Lacedæmonians, and who, by the intrigues of his party, and by his eloquence, in the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad, brought about the alliance between Athens and Argos, in virtue of which this last state placed herself at the head of a confederacy against Lacedæmon. Though Thukydides describes Alkibiades as at this time still in his youth,¹¹⁹ and therefore unfavourably disposed towards the Lacedæmonians, because he thought he was neglected by them on that account, we could only lay much stress upon this expression, in the event of other well established chronological coincidences justifying us in admitting a later period for

¹¹⁸ Plut. Alc. c. 17, init. Compare Clinton on this date. He says "The Peace" was exhibited in 2nd year of 90th Olympiad.

¹¹⁹ V. 43. Ἀνὴρ ἡλικία μὲν ὧν ἔτι τότε νέος, ὥς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει that is, not considered young for a statesman in Athens, but young in years; so that in any other state, especially in Sparta, where men were not advanced to political power at so early an age, he would have been considered still a youth

the birth of Alkibiades, and consequently for taking something from his supposed age at certain given epochs of this period. But we cannot do otherwise than consider him to have been, at this time, about twenty-nine years of age.

None of the comedies, which Aristophanes may have exhibited during the six years which elapsed between "The Peace" and "The Birds," have been preserved to us; not even a fragment exists of them. It was during this period that the secret intrigues of Alkibiades were at their height, that he led the expedition into the Peloponnesos, the result of the alliance with Argos, and the first occasion on which he commanded in chief,¹²⁰ and the Sicilian expedition, in which Alkibiades was chosen as joint commander with Nikias and Lamachos, was resolved upon and commenced; this had been preceded by the mutilation of the Hermai, and the profanation of the mysteries; and Alkibiades was mainly considered as the projector of these acts of outrage, and as the head of a conspiracy against the constitution, in connection with those acts; and soon after the expedition was gone, the Salaminia was despatched to bring him back to Athens to make his defence, together with those who were accused of being his accomplices; for the suspicion which many had previously entertained, that he was hostile to the democracy, and was plotting against it, had now become almost universal.¹²¹

This mission of the Salaminia to bring back Alkibiades, took place in the second year of the 91st Olympiad, shortly before the exhibition of "The Birds;" an allusion is made to it in v. 145 sq. of that play, as if the tribunals in Athens had the means

¹²⁰ Thuc. V. 22.

¹²¹ Thuc. VI. 28, 60.

of reaching any individual, wherever he was, even at the extremities of the world. Some commentators have, indeed, attempted to draw a comparison between Peisthetairos in this play, and Alkibiades;¹²² but this is totally without foundation; the former is no war-loving commander, but the faithful counsellor of the public, who unites the volatile, fickle people of the birds, and explains to them the power they would possess, if they would combine together in a well fortified city, which being constructed midway between the gods and the men, would make both dependent upon them. He then directs the foundation of the city, and the ordinary affairs of the community, whilst the foreign relations, the forts, and garrisons are attended to by Epops, as commander-in-chief; he thus succeeds in securing to the birds the service of mankind, and recovers for them from the gods the sovereignty which they had lost. Here is a demagogue and commander of a very different character from that of Alkibiades; and whilst Peisthetairos, instead of exerting himself to destroy the democracy, makes minced meat of the anti-democratical birds (v. 1584), Alkibiades finished his career by the overthrow of the democratic constitution of his country.

Aristophanes next presents to us Alkibiades in "The Lysistrata," which, according to the Didaskalia, was exhibited in the archonship of Kallias,

¹²² Comment in Aristoph. comed. vol. ii. p. 360, ed. Beck. [It is curious to see in how short a time the learned author of the present essay must have corrected these his first ideas upon this subject. The essay on "The Birds," in which the numberless traits pointing to Alkibiades in the character of Peisthetairos are so ingeniously developed, was read to the Royal Society of Sciences at Berlin, in the year immediately subsequent to the publication of that, on which we are now engaged. Tr.]

or in the first year of the 92nd Olympiad, and in which comedy (v. 1094) mention is jokingly made of the mutilators of the Hermai. But this allusion is there not without a deeper meaning; as at the time of the production of "The Lysistrata," discussions were rife in Athens, respecting a change of the constitution, and the recall of Alkibiades. For previously to the exhibition of this piece Alkibiades, who after his flight from Sparta was living at the court of Tissaphernes, the Persian Satrap in Asia Minor, had entered into negotiations with the Athenian army at Samos, with a view to his recall to Athens, the overthrow of the democracy, and the establishment of an oligarchical form of government.¹²³ In the meantime it was easily seen that he cared as little for the one as for the other, and only sought his own interest.¹²⁴ The Athenian people, however, hesitated about his recall;¹²⁵ and the installation of the council of five hundred, and that of the five thousand representatives of the people, took place without him, through the management of Peisandros,¹²⁶ whom in the first instance the partisans of Alkibiades at Samos had despatched to Athens for that purpose.¹²⁷ These intrigues are also assailed by Aristophanes in "The Lysistrata" (v. 490), in the words:

ἵνα γὰρ Πείσανδρος ἔχοι κλέπτειν χοί τὰς ἀρχαῖς
ἐπέχοντες,

Ἄεί τινα κορκορυγὴν ἐκύκων.

¹²³ Thucyd. VIII. 47; Plut. Alk. c. 25.

¹²⁴ Thucyd. VIII. 48. Ἄλλ' ὃ τε Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ δημοκρατίας δεῖσθαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, ἢ ἄλλο τι σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ ὅτῃ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμον τὴν πόλιν μεταστήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων παρακληθεῖς κάτσει.

¹²⁵ Ibid. c. 53.

¹²⁶ Ibid. c. 67 sq.

¹²⁷ Plut. Alk. c. 26.

“ That Peisandros and the rest in power might have something still to steal,
 Ever were they stirring up some turmoil in the city.”

Here Aristophanes speaks of these intrigues as gone by; and Paulmier, in his observation on the passage,¹²⁸ hence infers that “ *The Lysistrata*” was not exhibited before the dissolution of the rule of the four hundred, because the poet would not have risked such an allusion during its continuance. But this supposition falls to the ground, when we reflect that the destruction of that government took place quite at the close of the Attic year, in Ol. 92, 1,¹²⁹ and no play could be exhibited at any later period during that year. The basis, however, of Paulmier’s argument may lead to another inference. It was, for example, just at the time of the great Dionysia, in the month Elaphebolion of that year, during the second visit of Peisandros to Athens, that the oligarchy was established.¹³⁰ In the interval between this and the abolition of the oligarchy such an allusion could not have been made, and consequently “ *The Lysistrata*” could not have been exhibited. But it would therefore the better agree with the period of time between Peisandros’ second visit and his first mission thither from Samos, during which he had first set the business on foot. The first engagement of Peisandros in these transactions coincides with the end of the month Poseideon, or the beginning of Gamelion,¹³¹ and the allusion we are noticing is well suited to the period between

¹²⁸ Exerc. p. 765.

¹²⁹ Thuc. c. 97.

¹³⁰ Ibid. c. 63.

¹³¹ Ibid. c. 53, 54. Compare Dodwell *Annal. Thucyd.* ad an. XX et XXI. bell. Pelop. and also on Thucyd. VIII. 45, 63, 72, and 78.

that date and the month Elaphebolion. This leads us to assign the exhibition of "The Lysistrata" to the month Gamelion, at the Lenaian festival, which, in all probability, was celebrated in that month.¹³² The remainder of the above cited passage is in perfect accordance with these facts :

Οἱ δ' οὖν τοῦδ' οὐνεκα δρώντων
 "Οτι βούλονται· τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον τοῦτ' οὐκετι μὴ
 καθέλωσιν.

"Let them carry on what intrigues they will for such purposes; they shall get no money from us:" by which is plainly designated the yet uncertain issue of the intrigues of Peisandros and his party.

I shall hereafter notice another comedy, very important in reference to Alkibiades, and which was probably exhibited after "The Lysistrata," and before "The Frogs."

Finally, in "The Frogs," which was brought out after the glorious victory gained by the Athenians at Arginousai, in the third year of the 93rd Olympiad (B. C. 406), and before their defeat at Aigospotamoi, Dionysos puts a question to Aischylos and Euripides, not more illustrative of their contention in the shades below,¹³³ than deeply grounded upon, and proceeding

¹³² Büchke on the Lenaia, the Anthesteria, and the Dionysia in the "Transactions of the Academy of Sciences, for the year 1816-17. Hist. Phil. Kl. p. 65 sq."

¹³³ It may be useful to observe in this place, that the strange notion entertained by Paulmier (exerc. in auct. Gr. p. 760), that a law had been enacted, prohibiting τοὺς τεθνηκότας κωμωδεῖν is sufficiently contradicted by the instances, not only of Euripides in "The Frogs," but also by that of Kleon. Paulmier, indeed, founds his opinion on a Scholion to v. 647 of "The Peace." This, however, merely declares οὐκ ἐξῆν τεθνηκότας κωμωδεῖν, and can scarcely contemplate any thing else, than the general superstition with regard to the dead, or the law of Solon, which forbad men to speak ill of the dead (Plut. Solon, c. 21).

from the opinion then entertained of Alkibiades by the people. This statesman having in the interval between those two events been recalled first by the army, and then by the state, and having presented himself before his fellow citizens after a series of military successes,¹³⁴ had, shortly after, on occasion of the defeat near Ephesos, again become an object of general suspicion and ill-will, had lost the command of the troops, and had retired to his strongholds in Thrace.¹³⁵ From the expressions which Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Dionysos, that the city is in the agony and pains of labour, and is wavering between a passionate fondness for him, and a violent hatred against him, we may draw the conclusion, that, as was often the case under similar circumstances in Athens, the citizens had begun to repent of the inconsiderate haste with which they had decreed his downfall, the republic being

In no case is it of more importance (there being decisive examples against it), than the pretended law, that no individual should make his appearance on the comic stage before his 30th or 40th year; the authority for which law is the Scholiast to "The Clouds," v. 530, which should be compared with the commentators and with Wolf. The only legal restriction on the poets during the period of the old comedy, which we know of with historical certainty, was enacted in the 2nd year of the 89th Olympiad, during the archonship of Ameinias, by the law introduced by Kallias, son of Hipponikos, τὸν ἄρχοντα μὴ φανερώς κωμωδεῖν. Schol. ad Nub. 31, Palmer. ad Lysistratam, 490. Brunck ad Argum. Vesp. p. 150. This followed the repeal in Ol. 85, under the Archon Euthydemos, of a ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κωμωδεῖν, passed under the Archon Morychides. Schol. ad Acharn. v. 67. In reference, however, to Kleon and to Reisig's expression (prafat. ad Nub. p. xx.), we may observe, that Aristophanes sharply assails the former, not only in "The Peace," v. 47, 271 sq. 315, 647, 657, 734, when he was already dead, but he persecutes his memory also in "The Frogs," and only spares him a little more than he does Euripides, in not bringing him on the stage after his death, as he does the latter, αὐτοπροσώπως.

¹³⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. I. 4, 10 sq.

¹³⁵ Id. ibid. I. 6. 16 sq.

really in great want of a man of his military talents, able to make a stand against the overpowering forces of Lysandros. In the answer made by Euripides we see the expression of the common opinion founded on the experience which the people had had of Alkibiades, who was ever seeking his own advantage, and who, to revenge himself upon his enemies, and to secure his return to Athens by main force, had greatly prejudiced his native country, both when in Sparta, and when he was with the Persians; in this spirit it is that Lysias¹³⁶ also expresses himself in reference to the accusation of *ασέβεια* against the same person: "Had ye put him to death at that time of life, when he first sinned against you, the city would not have experienced such disasters." The words of Aischylos in reply to this question (v. 1431), give to it a still more pointed meaning, both in reference to the character of Alkibiades and to the situation of the republic:

Οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν,
 Μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν,
 Ἦν δ' ἐκτραφῇ¹³⁷ τις, τοις τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

¹³⁶ Orat. I. in Alkib. p. 343, ed. Bekker.

¹³⁷ Although this passage is cited in Plutarch Alkib. c. 16, with *ἐκτρέφῃ*, and the Scholiast explains it by *ἐὰν εἰ ἀνατρέφῃ*, yet as he can by no means be considered as of great authority against good MSS., I do not think it sufficiently decisive, to agree with Dindorf in altering *ἐκτραφῇ*, the reading of all the MSS. into *ἐκτρέφῃ*; admitting, nevertheless, that the same subject is to be understood with *τρέφειν* in the two first lines, as with *ὑπηρετεῖν* in the third. But this subject is not *τινὰ*, but *πόλιν*, implied in *ἐν πόλει*. *Πόλις*, however, must not be understood with *τις* in that third line; for the city to which the advice is given throughout the passage, and in reference to Alkibiades, is no other than the particular city of Athens itself. If, therefore, the same subject were to be understood in *ἐκτρέφῃ*, *τις* would be altogether out of place. The train of thought also required a past tense, as will be shown further on. In the whole speech the

Of these lines, which we have as little reason to consider with Butler, as a fragment of Aischylos,¹³⁸ as the expression which follows them in v. 1458 on the city in general (for Aischylos, in "The Frogs," almost always speaks with his own tragic force and solemnity, whilst Euripides on his side speaks in the character peculiarly appropriate to himself), some critics, in consequence of the apparent repetition of the same idea, and nearly of the same words, have thought that either the first or the second was superfluous and spurious. Brunck and Voss, amongst others, rejected the second; Dindorf doubted the first, because Plutarch quotes the passage without it; and in Valerius Maximus, it is not expressed in the translation.¹³⁹ All three lines must however be defended as they at present stand; and in proceeding to give my reasons for this opinion (Euripides, by the way, also gives his judgment in the same number of lines), I shall begin with quoting the words of Valerius Maximus: "Aristophanis quoque altioris est prudentiæ præceptum, qui in comœdia introduxit remissum ab inferis Atheniensem Periclem vaticinantem non oportere in urbe nutrirî leonem, sin autem sit alitus, obsequi convenire." The usual commentary upon this passage is that either Valerius Maximus substituted Perikles for Aischylos, or that the reading is a blunder of the copyists; but Lobek is of opinion,¹⁴⁰ that Perikles was

lion is so much more prominent than the strictly grammatical subject, that we may easily suppose λέων to be understood in the *τις*, which is coupled with ἐκτραφῆν, and in which the words ἐν πόλει are equally implied, consequently there is no occasion for any change. Besides, in Valerius Maximus, the passage is translated: Sin autem sit alitus.

¹³⁸ Hermann, Dissert. de Æschyli Danaïdibus, p. xiii. assigns to these lines a place in the Danaïdes of Aischylos.

¹³⁹ VII. 2, 7.

¹⁴⁰ Dissert. de mysteriorum gradibus, Part I. p. 5, not. c.

meant by him, and that he wrote Periclem. There can be no doubt that this is the true reading ; perhaps it ran " Atheniensium principem Periclem ;" and in " The Frogs" of Aristophanes Aischylos is not introduced as released from the shades below, " remissus ab inferis," as Valerius says, but as being actually there.

But where then has Aristophanes given this representation of Perikles ? Where has he put into his mouth this advice about Alkibiades ? It is not probable that he should have repeated it twice, once in the person of Perikles, and again in that of Aischylos in " The Frogs ;" and each time in nearly the same words. Lobek thinks that it was in that lost comedy, which Aristeides¹⁴¹ alludes to, when he says that some comic writer or other had brought on the stage four popular leaders of the Athenians, two of whom he had himself before named (and he had named Themistokles, Perikles, Miltiades, and Kimon) as risen from the dead. But the comedy, in which the four demagogues appeared on the stage as having emerged from the shades below, was not one of Aristophanes' plays, but the well known *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis, probably so called from the choros representing the *Δῆμοι* of the Athenian people. Plutarch sets this point at rest by the passage quoted below,¹⁴² from which we also learn, that Perikles, whom on account of his onion-shaped head (*σχινοκέφαλος*) Eupolis had called the head-piece of the departed,

¹⁴¹ Orat. Platon. vol. ii. p. 228. ed. Jebb. Ἡ καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν κωμικῶν τις ἐποίησε τέτταρας τῶν προστατῶν ἀνεστῶτας, ἐν οἷς δύο τούτων ἔνισιν.

¹⁴² Pericl. cap. 3. Ὁ δ' Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυνθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ ἄδου δημαγωγῶν (sc. φησὶν) ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὠνομάσθη τελευταῖος

"Ὅτι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες.

was one of those who rose from the dead. This is made still more precise and clear by the inedited scholion on the above quoted passage in Aristides, first communicated by Valckenaer,¹⁴³ and according to which, the four apparitions were Miltiades, Aristides, Solon, and Perikles. Some doubt might be thrown on this statement by the Scholiast on v. 61 of "the Acharnians:" Εὐπολις δὲ ἐν Δήμοις εἰσάγει τὸν Πεισίστρατον βασιλέα, which would seem to imply that Peisistratos was one of those released from the lower regions. But it is clear from the observation of Ammonios,¹⁴⁴ "Εσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὸν τύραννον βασιλέα ἔλεγον, ὡς Εὐπολις ἐν Δήμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου, that the Scholiast meant only to say that Eupolis in the Δῆμοι had called the tyrant Peisistratos βασιλεὺς. We may, therefore, conclude, that in the passage from Valerius, we must continue with Lobek to read Periclem, but that the Perikles thus spoken of, as brought from the lower regions, is not to be looked for in any of the lost plays of Aristophanes, but in the Δῆμοι of Eupolis.

¹⁴³ Diatrib. p. 21. Εὐπολις ἐποίησεν ἀναστάντα τὸν Μιλτιάδην καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Περικλέα· ἐν τοῦτοις οὖν ἔτο, φησί, Περικλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης, λέγει δὲ Εὐπολις οὕτως·

Καὶ μηκέτ', ὧναξ Μιλτιάδης καὶ Περικλεες,
 'Εάσατ' ἄρχειν μεράκια κινούμενα,
 'Εν τοῖς σφύροϊς ἔλκοντα τὴν στρατηγίαν.

Valckenaer has restored the Senarius. He has also correctly read Σόλωνα for Ἐλωνα, in the MS. Some might think Κίμωνα more probable. But Kimon belongs to the four, whom Aristides had named before, and two only of them, as he himself says in the passage quoted, are described in the comedy to have revisited the earth; and according to the Scholion, these were Perikles and Miltiades. On the meaning of κινούμενα in the fragment, compare Gloss. ad. Nub. 1101, ὃ κινούμενοι συνουσιαζόμενοι ὃ ἐνὲρ-πρωκτοι, and Brunck ad Lysist. 966.

¹⁴⁴ De voc. diff. p. 108, ed. Valck.

And Valerius' attributing it to Aristophanes, can only be accounted for, by his having confounded the Perikles in the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis with the Aischylos in "The Frogs" of Aristophanes. This blunder in Valerius need not surprize us, for it is not without example. Maximus Tyrius¹⁴⁵ makes a similar confusion of names between Aristophanes and Eupolis. We have an instance too of a like negligence in Diodoros,¹⁴⁶ who joins a line and a half out of "the Acharnians" of Aristophanes (v. 530) to the three last lines of a fragment from the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis, quoted also by the Scholiast on this passage; and Diodoros gives the whole as a judgment of Eupolis on the eloquence of Perikles. This confusion can in no other way be explained, although Leopardus has made an attempt, not at all satisfactory to Wesseling, to remove the difficulty. A blunder of the same kind with this of Valerius Maximus appears also in the argument of the Oidipous at Kolonos,¹⁴⁷ published by Thiersch, in which we read: 'Ο μὲν' *Αριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς βατράχοις ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἀναγεί τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑπὲρ γῆς*. The proposed insertion of *ἐς* before *τοὺς στρατηγοὺς* is of no use: for whom could we then imagine as implied by the word *στρατηγοὺς*? And *ἀνάγει ὑπὲρ γῆς* can mean nothing else than a raising from the dead, which is quite different from what is expressed by Aristophanes in "The Frogs." The same objection precludes us from understanding by the *στρατηγοὺς* of Aristophanes, the Koryphaioi of the tragedy; or if this meaning be given to it, which I think would be quite gratuitous, we must adopt also the violent

¹⁴⁵ Diss. XXIV. p. 293, see Ruhnken on the Mem. of Xen. I. 2, 51.

¹⁴⁶ Bibl. XII. 40, and Wesseling's note.

¹⁴⁷ Vide Soph. *Ædip. Col.* p. 7, ed. Doederlein.

changes of εἰσάγει, and ὑπὸ γῆς for ἀνάγει, and ὑπὲρ γῆς. But if we refer it to the Strategoi evoked by Eupolis in the Δῆμοι, it is all clear; and nothing else is wanted, than to allow that the names were confounded as above stated. We learn then, from Valerius Maximus, that in some comedy or other, a similar counsel was given by Perikles, under the same metaphorical image, and almost in the very same words, as that which Aischylos gives in reference to Alkibiades; and from a comparison of other authorities we are assured that this counsel is not to be sought for in any of the lost plays of Aristophanes, but in the Δῆμοι of Eupolis, in which the four statesmen sent from the nether to the upper regions are to be interrogated respecting various affairs of the state. It is very probable, that Perikles in Eupolis gave his advice also in reference to Alkibiades, partly because it fits him so well, partly because in that sense it is most appropriate to Perikles, a near relation of Alkibiades, and to whom he was well known, in part also because the fragment from the Δῆμοι, preserved by the Scholiast, and cited in a preceding note, (in which Miltiades and Perikles are entreated to check the course of these restless and dissolute youths, who were pulling στρατηγία by the legs, that is, were struggling for the chief command of the army) bears a natural and easy reference to Alkibiades and his hangers-on. The prayer to the resuscitated manes of Miltiades and Perikles was also well suited to a dramatic character bearing the name of the famous old commander Myronides; for we cannot refuse to adopt Valckenaer's¹⁴⁸ reading of Μυρωνίδην for Πυρωνίδην in that passage of Plu-

¹⁴⁸ Diatrib. p. 221.

tarch,¹⁴⁹ in which he says, that Perikles in the *Δῆμοι* enquired of that personage whether the son whom he had had by Aspasia was still alive. That the true reading in this passage is *Δήμοις*, and not *Δημοσίοις*, is clear from the scholion on Plato,¹⁵⁰ ἔσχε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς (Ἀσπασίας) νοθὸν νιόν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐτέλεύτα, ὥς Εὐπολὶς ἐν Δήμοις. We may observe however that this personage could not possibly be the old Myronides himself, but merely bore his name; for though he was a contemporary of Perikles,¹⁵¹ he was a much older man, had died long before him, and was not recalled to life with him in the *Δῆμοι*. The entreaty that they would not allow the *μειράκια κινούμενα*, who sought by main force to seize upon the command of the army, to have their will, makes it probable that the *Δῆμοι* was exhibited at that period of time, when Alkibiades,¹⁵² after the conclusion of the fifty years' truce with Sparta, was endeavouring again to embroil public affairs, was engaged in bringing about the alliance with Argos, and was thereupon chosen to the chief command of the expedition into the Peloponnesos, that is, not long after "The Peace" of Aristophanes, about the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad, or the first of the 90th, when Alkibiades was still a young man, and when the warning given by Perikles on his account was in every respect opportune. The probability is much less that this representation should have taken place, when the people were already exasperated against Alkibiades, and the denuntiations against him for the mutilation of the Hermai, and the profanation of the mysteries, were the common subjects of conversation, and he

¹⁴⁹ Pericl. c. 24.

¹⁵⁰ P. 139. ed. Ruhnken, p. 391, b. ed. Bekker.

¹⁵¹ Plut. Pericl. 16.

¹⁵² Thucyd. V. 43, see above.

himself had set out for the second time as commander-in-chief against Sicily, that is about the time of "The Birds" of Aristophanes, or the second year of the 91st Olympiad, when also the expression *μειράκια κινούμενα* would no longer have been so appropriate. At all events, the *Δῆμοι* must have been exhibited between "The Peace" and "The Birds." But to return to the passage in "The Frogs" (v. 1431), respecting the young lion, we find in the Scholia the following very remarkable notice: "Εν τισι δὲ μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον (i. e. τὸν πρῶτον στίχον) παρήγαγε γραφεται, and soon after, "Εν τισι δὲ ἐνός ἔστι τὰ τρία. The Scholiast, therefore, had access only to MSS. in which the first line, which many are now inclined to consider spurious, was extant; and in some of these MSS. it was noted, he says, that Aristophanes had borrowed it from some other poet. For according to the interpretation of the scholion, and because in the second and third lines Aischylos expresses his own peculiar views of the Alkibiades of the time, the note *παρήγαγε* can only be referred to the¹⁵³ first line, and not to the other two, although Gattaker, by referring it to these, has been led to the conclusion, that Aristophanes had joined a line, the property of Aischylos, to two others taken from some other poet. Nor can we, any more than the Scholiast did, understand *παρήγαγε*, as if Aristophanes, after the first line of the speech, had given a kind of stage direction, to the effect that this first line was undoubtedly spoken by Aischylos, and the other two put into the mouth of some one else, either Euripides or Dionysos, or perhaps the chorus; for as to Dionysos, his object is not to deliver his own opinion upon Alkibiades, but to obtain those of the other

¹⁵³ Miscell. p. 958.

two; as to their being spoken by the choros, this would have been quite out of character, and foreign to the dispute which was going on; and, as to Euripides, he had already given his judgment; whereas, that of Aischylos is in fact only concluded by the third line, which completes his meaning. For the first of these reasons also, Hermann's supposition¹⁵⁴ is quite untenable, which maintains that all the three lines are genuine, but that the second is spoken by Dionysos, and the first and third by Aischylos; such an interpretation would unnecessarily, and at the wrong place too (for the subject is treated seriously), impute to Dionysos a new and egregious act of folly. Hermann indeed himself says: "Baccho—more suo inepta interloquenti;" but if we have explained *παρήγαγε* correctly, the source is at once discovered, whence Aristophanes had taken for his own purposes the line, *Οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν*. It is the warning voice of Perikles in the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis, pointing to Alkibiades, first given at a period of time when Alkibiades might still be called the lion's whelp, whose existence and whose practices may have already been disagreeable, as we learn too from Thucydides, to many of the elder citizens; whereas at the time of the exhibition of "The Frogs," he must have been nearly forty years of age. We have other similar instances of the comic poets borrowing lines and thoughts from one another; though they are not frequent. Thus, for example, in the Scholia on v. 184 of "The Frogs," it is observed, that the whole line is from Achaios; on v. 526 sq. of "The Knights," that the picture therein described by Kratinos is borrowed from that poet himself; and on v. 39 of "The

¹⁵⁴ De Aesch. Dan. p. xiv.

Birds," that the idea which it expresses, had been applied in another form by Philemon. It is no solid objection, that, at an earlier period, Aristophanes and Eupolis used to ridicule one another; for the latter was dead before the exhibition of "The Frogs," and at all events the adoption of a line from one of his plays was not necessarily a direct eulogy of him. As to the passage in Valerius Maximus, whose translation gives us, *non oportere in urbe nutriri leonem*, not *leonis catulum*, we cannot conclude from thence that he had read only the two last lines in Aristophanes, but that as he confounded together Eupolis and Aristophanes, Perikles and Aischylos, so also he blended together the expressions (as is clear from the *non oportere* taken from the first line); and that for the sake of brevity, he attributed the main idea to Aristophanes, this being sufficient for his purpose. Nor can the circumstance of Plutarch having quoted only the two last lines be of any weight (as Hermann also observes) against the other authorities; he gives that line only which contained what he wanted. The fact that Aristophanes puts the two passages together into the mouth of Aischylos, still more satisfactorily accounts for the confusion made by Valerius Maximus, and that also of the critic, who was the author of the argument of the Oidipous at Kolonos, above alluded to. The symbolical representation of Alkibiades as a lion, which is the ground-work of the whole, is not an unusual one for military commanders and politicians. Homer applies it to his heroes; the Delphic oracle¹⁵⁵ describes Kypselos under this image; the dream of his mother Agariste on the birth of Peri-

¹⁵⁵ Herod. V. 92, 2.

kles,¹⁵⁶ does the same for that statesman; and in "The Knights," Aristophanes makes use of the metaphor in his own true comic spirit, in the pretended oracle respecting Kleon. The application of it to Alkibiades might also have been especially occasioned by his own comparison of himself to a lion; an anecdote recorded of his early youth,¹⁵⁷ when being engaged in wrestling, and in danger of being thrown, he bit the hands of his adversary to save himself; and when the latter exclaimed, as he let him go, "Thou bitest as women do." "Not I in truth," said he, "but as lions bite" (οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἴπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ λέοντες). But in the reference to his native city Athens, in which Alkibiades is represented under this allegory, it is evident that both the comic poets had in view that passage of the Agamemnon of Aischylos (v. 725 sq. ed Schutz), which has often been compared to that now under consideration by the commentators on the one and the other writer. In this passage Paris in reference to Troy is allegorized as a lion, which his master had brought up within his house, and which at first mild and friendly, let himself be coaxed and carried about like a child, but when he was grown up, developed the natural habits of a lion, and repaid by ferocity and bloodshed the kindnesses shown to him in his youth; and thus do we become more alive to the propriety with which Aristophanes again puts into the mouth of Aischylos his judgment upon Alkibiades, by the use of the same symbols, *first*, as a serious reminder of the warning advice which had been given to the city by a revered statesman risen from the dead:

¹⁵⁶ Herod. VI. 131. Plut. Pericl. c. 3. Schol. Aristeid. l. c.

¹⁵⁷ Plut. Alcib. c. 2.

Οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν.

“Ye must not nurse a lion’s whelp within the city walls” —

then passing to his own opinion respecting him, under the same image, now raised into a full-grown lion :

Μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ’ν πόλει τρέφειν·

Ἦν δ’ ἐκτραφῇ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

“Nor should ye nurse the lion’s self within the city walls,

Or if he has therein been nursed, ye must become his thralls.”

Aischylos is thus made to point out how the city should act in deference to the many later occasions on which they had had experience of Alkibiades, either not to recall him from his banishment, or to conform themselves to his ways.

Further on, the judgment, which Aischylos pronounces on the city itself, in line 1458, Ranæ,

“How can we hope to save a state,

Which neither cloak nor sheep-skin fit?”

by which a city, which hates the honest citizens, and yet does not give itself up altogether to the bad, is declared to have no chance of being saved, must, from the evident connection of the thought with line 1425, be referred to Alkibiades alone.

Thus then we see how the play of “The Frogs,” exhibited only a few years before the death of Alkibiades, which took place, according to Cornelius Nepos,¹⁵⁸ when he was about forty years of age,

¹⁵⁸ Alcib. c. 10, 6 :—

[“The Clouds” was first represented Ol. 89, 2, B. C. 423.

“The Birds” “ “ Ol. 91, 3, B. C. 414.

“The Frogs” “ “ Ol. 93, 4, B. C. 405. Tr.]

is, in reference to him, connected with that of "The Clouds," the date of which coincides with the beginning of his political career. The picture, which, in "The Clouds," had portrayed the spirit and new direction of the Athenian youths rapidly ripening as they were into a love of political intrigue, had in the interval fully developed itself in real life; and the poet of "The Frogs" was entitled to remind his hearers of what he had done, how he himself intimately familiar with the political interests of his native country, and having an acute perception of the signs of the times, had, as well as Eupolis, given to them beforehand an early warning of the ruinous consequences of that tendency and system of education.

From all this the question arises: How then could it happen that Aristophanes, when giving a name and mask to the master of the school of subtlety, the hinge and central point of those qualities, which, in their nature, in their tendency, and in their extravagance, were so foreign to the real Sokrates, how could he have selected precisely the name and mask of that very individual? This question cannot be answered in one word. But the elements for answering it are, for the most part, contained in the foregoing observations.

Aristophanes selected Sokrates, not merely because his whole exterior, and his mode of life so much at variance with that observed by most of his countrymen, offered the most appropriate mask for comic representation, but also (and this was his chief reason) because in these circumstances, as in many other points of formal palpable resemblance, which the occupations of Sokrates, and his mode of instruction bore to those of the natural philosophers and of

the sophists, the poet found abundance of subject-matter, which by blending, in the personage bearing his name, some characteristics which he would disown, with others that were peculiar and congenial to him, composed a picture suited to his views ; namely, to exhibit to the public, on whom he wished to operate, in a plausible and insinuating manner, a master of the school, whence the mischief he strove to put down, was working its way into the hearts of the Athenian youths. We must also take into our consideration the important fact, that several individuals, in whom the moving principle of the time, which is attacked by Aristophanes, was already rife, and through whose influence it was working, were in close habits of intimacy with Sokrates, and in part, too, with the natural philosophers and sophists : and this helped to give additional relief and light to the portrait of the man, who was the centre around which they moved.

In the first place Euripides the friend of Sokrates was also the pupil of Anaxagoras ; hence his plays are full of that *μετεωροσοφία*,¹⁵⁹ which was arraigned by Aristophanes, and on which account he represented him in "The Acharnians," as soaring aloft in air, like Sokrates in "The Clouds," and as Euripides in the Choros of "The Alkestis," v. 971, boasts of himself: *Ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ Μούσας καὶ μετάρσιος ᾗζα*, which is well explained by the Scholiast, *καὶ περὶ μετεώρων ἐφρόντισα*. On account of the very rhetorical character of his tragedies,¹⁶⁰ and from the low and mean tendency of his poetry, turning ever upon points of worldly wisdom, Aristophanes does not merely accuse him of falsifying and frittering down the art which he practised, but from the form.

¹⁵⁹ Valcken. Diatrib. p. 25 sq.

¹⁶⁰ Compare Ran. 956 sq.

the expression of thought, the contents, and many detached principles and maxims in his works, the effect of which was to enervate his countrymen, and to undermine their old fashioned discipline, and all their moral energies, he at once places him on a level with the school of sophistical rhetoricians. Hence we find in this view also a very close affinity between the play of "The Clouds" and that of "The Frogs;" the school and its influence are the principal object of the former (their connection with the poetry of Euripides being pointed out in lines 1370—1379 of that piece); whereas in the latter play this poetry and its artificial refinement are prominently brought forward, but at the same time its influence on the corruption of the youth, in cooperation with the school of sophistry, is not lost sight of. This will be quite clear, if any one will compare Ran. 888—894, with Nub. 423—426 sq.; Ran. 101 sq. with Nub. 991—1045, 986 sq.; Ran. 1069 sq. with Nub. 1053 sq.; Ran. 1072, with Nub. 1375; Ran. 1081 sq. with Nub. 1372; Ran. 1087 sq. with Nub. 988 sq. besides several other passages, which for brevity's sake I do not cite. It was perfectly natural, that Euripides and Aristophanes should have been opposed to each other in the views they entertained, and in the judgment which they had respectively formed of this defective system of education, as is evident from their works: for Euripides had not only sung the praises of Alkibiades¹⁶¹ for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia, but whilst Aristophanes holds him forth, in the character of Pheidippides, as a sample of the effects of that system, the former in his *Ἰκέτιδες*, which was exhibited just at the time when Alki-

¹⁶¹ Plut. Alc. c. 11. Eurip. in. fragm. Opp. T. 11, p. 495, ed. Beck.

biades was urging the alliance with Argos, and the renewal of hostilities with Sparta, brought before the public this ambitious youth in the character of Theseus, not indeed without many a good lesson, which is given to him,¹⁶² as a heartless, selfish, swaggering babbler, valuing eloquence only for the profit it brought in (v. 215, ed. Herm.), but all serving to heighten the contrast which is presented by the image of the illustrious, high-minded, national hero of Athens, as the dispenser of protection, and the mediator of an alliance.

It is quite clear from the foregoing, in what relation Euripides stands to the play of "The Clouds," and how he becomes implicated in the story of the piece, simply by the principle which Aristophanes has represented in Sokrates and in his school; of this principle he considers that philosopher and Euripides to be the most efficient instruments; and there is some truth in the observation which Reisig has enlarged upon,¹⁶⁴ that a considerable portion of the dramatic character of Sokrates does not belong to him, but to his disciples, or to others, with whom he was connected, particularly to Euripides. This author is only mistaken in the conclusion he has drawn from it, namely, that the comedy is directed more against some of the pupils and followers of Sokrates than against that philosopher himself.¹⁶⁵ For no dramatic poet could venture to exact from his audience such a distinction between the individual actu-

¹⁶² Böckh græc. trag. princ. p. 188.

¹⁶³ Compare Fried. Hoepfner progr. de Sophoclis Oedipo Coloneo (Elbing, 1822), p. 21 sq.

¹⁶⁴ Præfat. ed Aristoph. Nubes, p. xv. sq.

¹⁶⁵ L. c. p. xxvi. Itaque animus in eam cogitationem incidit, omnino ut magis discipulos quosdam Socratis et sectatores, quam ipsum magistrum, existimem &c. And upon this supposition is grounded the notion, as is expressed in p. xx. that Euripides was

ally represented, and a multitude of others whom that individual is supposed really to typify; though he may embody the spirit and tendencies of many who stand in a common relation to one another, into one apt and appropriate personage; and for this purpose he may also introduce into the picture which he exhibits, into the tissue which he weaves, many single insulated traits belonging to those individuals, which have their points of connection in the person exhibited; and this has been the object of Aristophanes in representing the “domus Socratica,” by the central point or main hinge on which it turns, i. e. by Sokrates himself, as the master of the school of speculating philosophers.

introduced in his own person in “The Clouds,” and that, therefore, the two lines quoted from the *Νεφέλαι* by Diog. Laert. 11, 18, but which are not to be found in the play as we have it:

Εὐριπίδης δ'ὃ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶν
Τὰς περιλαλοῦσας οὗτος ἐστὶ τὰς σοφάς,

ought to be inserted after v. 192, as, indeed, Reisig has admitted them. In an excellent dissertation produced by the philological seminary of the University of Bonn, *De primâ et alterâ quæ fertur nubium Aristophanis editione* Scripsit Guil. Esser (Bon, 1821), p. 63, this notion is contested upon good grounds, because by the *Εὐριπίδης* of the fragment, in the view in which Diogenes quotes the passage, no one else can be understood but Sokrates himself, and indeed, very soon after the 192nd line of “The Clouds,” the philosopher is named by his own name. It may be also mentioned on the other hand, that the words *σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες*, about whose occupation Strepsiades enquires (v. 191), and adds further enquiries in v. 193, would be separated from the verb to which they are the subject, by these two intercalated lines about Euripides. We might also well ask, if Euripides was such an important personage in “The Clouds,” why is he not mentioned also in the catastrophe by which the phrontisterion is demolished, i. e. in the closing scene as well as in the first? But Sokrates and Chairephon only are there noticed. Why do we not hear the cries of Euripides, as well as those of the other two, in v. 1502 sq.? If he had been brought forward so prominently at the beginning, he must necessarily have shared their fate at the end.

In the same manner as we consider Euripides in regard to the principle itself of this school, in Perikles we are to view its active influence on the political and popular life of the Athenians. It is true, that when "The Clouds" was exhibited Perikles was no longer in existence, and could have no direct influence; but he had been the friend of Sokrates, and he was the maternal uncle and the guardian of Alkibiades.¹⁶⁶ We are reminded of this relationship by the allusion implied in the mention of Xanthippos, the name of Perikles' father, which first occurs in v. 64, and also in the form of the name of Megakles, who is more than once described as the maternal uncle of Pheidippides, allusions which have been already noticed in the Scholia on the passages quoted. Alkibiades also had been educated under the roof of Perikles;¹⁶⁷ and hence in all probability first arose his intimacy with Sokrates, though Perikles afterwards found it necessary to separate the younger brother Kleinias from him, and to consign him over to Aripbron, for the completion of his education, in order that he might not be corrupted by his elder brother.¹⁶⁸ But what is the most important of all, this intellectual, polished, and experienced statesman, from whom proceeded the new and altered tendency of Athenian politics, the first impulse to which had indeed been given by Themistokles, and was only kept in check by the counterpoise of Aristides, formed also an epoch in Athenian history, which was equally notorious for the introduction of a systematic and preparatory course of study for the management of public affairs, and for the elements which were brought to bear on the spirit, in which

¹⁶⁶ Plato. Alcib. I. c. 2. Plut. Alcib. c. 1. ¹⁶⁷ Cornel. Nep. Alcib. 2, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Plato. Protag. c. 29.

those affairs were to be handled. For according to a very remarkable statement of Plutarch,¹⁶⁹ in the preceding period commencing with Solon, the fundamental principles of political science, as well as other branches of education, were propagated by practical schools; in these which were under the guidance of single individuals, political science taught by practice was, from the time of the seven wise men, handed down from one master to the other, under its own appropriate name of σοφία:¹⁷⁰ but the sophists combined it with the arts of forensic oratory, and transformed the practical into a rhetorical exercise. Plutarch mentions Mnesiphilos, as such a successor to Solon, to whom, according to some accounts, Themistokles attached himself for instruction. Damon, who, according to Plutarch, disguised his powers as a politician under the semblance of music, for which he was very celebrated, and whom Alexandros, who is often cited by Diogenes Laertius and others, had described in his Δίαδοχαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, as an instructor even of Sokrates,¹⁷¹ seems to have communicated his doctrines in a similar manner, but not in the spirit of Solon, since Plutarch calls him a powerful sophist.¹⁷² It was this same Damon who initiated Perikles in the art

¹⁶⁹ Themistocl. c. 2. Μᾶλλον οὖν ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅτε ῥήτορος ὄντος, ὅτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων ἄλλα τὴν καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὗσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ ἑραστήριον σῖναι, ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὥσπερ ἄρουν ἐκ διαίτης ἀπὸ Σόλωνος, ἣν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις, καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἄσκησιν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.

¹⁷⁰ Plut. Sol. c. 3.

¹⁷¹ Diog. Laert. II. 19. Compare Menage on I. 116.

¹⁷² Pericl. c. 4. Compare Hemsterh. ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 352.

of government,¹⁷³ and who was afterwards banished by ostracism,¹⁷⁴ for too ambitious views, and as a partizan of tyranny. In Perikles, who however still kept up his intercourse with the sophists, and indulged¹⁷⁵ in subtle discussions with them, the previous exercises he had undergone in learning that art, facilitated his transition to sophistry; and he added to this sophistry the doctrines of the physical philosophers. For he was at one and the same time a pupil of Pythokles the Pythagorean,¹⁷⁶ of Zenon the Eleatic, and of Anaxagoras,¹⁷⁷ the last of whom he took also under his protection, when he was persecuted for ἀσέβεια;¹⁷⁸ and as he was instructed by the former, as Plutarch tells us, in dialectics, we learn on the same authority that he was supplied by the latter with μετεωρολογία and μεταρσιολεσχία as preparatory to eloquence. Thus had Perikles opened the door to, and called into life that system of preliminary instruction for public affairs, which afterwards found its chief seat in the schools of sophistry. He paved the way (and the influence of his example was most extensive) as a master in the science of leading the people by subtle artifices, and by the power of the tongue, the operation of which in bringing about the Peloponnesian war Aristophanes so rudely assails;¹⁷⁹ and after having broken up in the Areiopagos one corner-stone of the consti-

¹⁷³ Plutarch, l. c. Τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνήν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτῃς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

¹⁷⁴ Plut. l. c. Aristid. c. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Plut. Pericl. c. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Plato. Alcib. l. c. 30, and Buttmann on the passage.

¹⁷⁷ Id. ibid. c. 36. Plut. Pericl. c. 4, 5. Cicero Brut. c. 11. Schol. Platon. in Phædr. p. 318. Wasse. ad Thucyd. II, 43.

¹⁷⁸ Diog. Laert. II. 5.

¹⁷⁹ Acharn. 529 sq. Pac. 606 sq.

tution of Solon, he loosened all the bands of that democracy, which he generally understood how to play with, but the caprices of which he sometimes bitterly experienced. Whilst he was thus breaking up the career of that coarse and vulgar *demagogia*, which attempted to crush him, and in comparison with which he appears even in Aristophanes,¹⁸⁰ to be a really virtuous character, and whilst he exhibited on the other hand by his own example, the way in which was to be formed that more refined *demagogia*, which was coming to maturity in a younger generation, he laid the foundation of those political tendencies, which are arraigned by Aristophanes, and more especially of that tendency, which in the second view above mentioned is assailed in "The Clouds." Thus does Perikles, upon the whole, serve to designate that precise period of time, when the elements of the public and private life of the Athenians began to be dissipated and dissolved.¹⁸¹

Next to Perikles, and at the head of this younger race of demagogues, must be placed his nephew and ward, Alkibiades, who had long been, and still continued to be at the time of "The Clouds," the favourite and confidant of Sokrates, who did his utmost to develop the nobler germs of his nature, and to make them dominant within him; but Alkibiades only made use of Sokrates to prepare himself for appearing on the political stage, and then deserted him.¹⁸²

Theramenes is in the same category with Alki-

¹⁸⁰ Equit. 283.

¹⁸¹ Comp. Plut. Per. c. 9, the passages in Luzac de Socrate cive, p. 61 and 62, and Böckh's Political Economy of Athens, Part I. p. 430.

¹⁸² Xen. Mem. I. 2, 16, 24, 39, 47. Comp. Luzac, l. c. p. 87.

biades ; he also was a pupil of Sokrates, and like him, a follower of Prodikos.¹⁸³ He is called by Euripides in "The Frogs" (v. 967) one of the happiest productions of his school ; but Aristophanes himself, in v. 541, and 968, of the same play, describes him as a clever fellow, with two strings to his bow, and up to every thing ; he was nick-named *Κόθορρος*,¹⁸⁴ for his conduct during the time of the four hundred ; and afterwards as one of the thirty tyrants, though not one of the worst,¹⁸⁵ he justified in his person the poet's warning against this system of education. There is also an allusion to him in a fragment of the *Τριφάλης* in Suidas, which may be corrected from Photios.¹⁸⁶ Some one says :

Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπὸ Θηραμένους ἐέδοικα τὰ τρία ταυτί.

The allusion is to the cruelty of Theramenes ; for the things dreaded are three *προτιμήματα* (penalties), which, merely as punishments, to say nothing of them as aggravations of punishments, were sufficiently severe ; and one of which it was ever his practice to decree ; whence came the proverbial expression, *Τὰ τρία Θηραμένους*. Hence we may conclude that the *Τριφάλης* must have been first exhibited after Theramenes had become a man of notoriety and power in the state ; therefore, after the time of the four hundred, with whom he came into the government ;¹⁸⁷ and of this we find also other traces. For

¹⁸³ Schol. Arist. ad Nub. 361. Suidas voc. *Πρόδικος*. Comp. Reinesii Observ. in Suidam. ed. Müller, p. 127, voc. *Θηραμένης*.

¹⁸⁴ Xenophon Hellen. II. 3, 30 sq.

¹⁸⁵ Luzac, l. c. p. 127 sq.

¹⁸⁶ Suidas in voc. *Τῶν τριῶν*, and Photios, *τῶν τριῶν κακῶν ἔν*. Comp. Reinesius, l. c. p. 252. On the common expression, *τὰ τρία ταῦτα*, comp. Wasse on Thucyd. I. 122.

¹⁸⁷ Thucyd. VIII. 68.

the piece is likewise of considerable importance in respect to Alkibiades, though I have deferred mentioning it till the present opportunity, in consequence of the date assigned to it. We read in Hesychios:¹⁸⁸ Τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπὶ Φαληνίου γεγενῆσθαι, σκώπτων παρὰ τὸν φάλητα· ἐπ' ἀναισχυντία γὰρ ὁ φάλης. Now we may readily conceive that it was in allusion to the lasciviousness and prowess of Alkibiades, that Aristophanes feigned that he was born during the archonship of one Φαληνίας: and the form of such pretended allusion may have been borrowed from Λυσανίας, who was first archon¹⁸⁹ in the second year of the 84th Olympiad; and we might draw the inference that Alkibiades was born in that year; this would coincide very well with the narrative of Diodoros¹⁹⁰ (which is, however, an inaccurate statement), according to which he died in the second year of the 94th Olympiad, when just forty years old;¹⁹¹ but these dates are themselves not to be perfectly relied on, and they are opposed to others more positive and satisfactory, which have been above adopted as the groundwork of this portion of the chronology of Greece. Now as Τριφάλης means one who is *bene vasatus*,¹⁹² nothing is more likely than that the raillery in question should have been directed against Alkibiades in the Τριφάλης of Aristophanes. But this was the name of the principal character of the piece, as appears in part from the

¹⁸⁸ Ἐπὶ Φαληνίου. Reiske correctly reads Ἀριστοφάνης for Ἀρίσ-
ταρχος.

¹⁸⁹ Diodor. XII. 23.

¹⁹⁰ It is notorious, that Diodoros frequently approximates events and dates.

¹⁹¹ This would very well agree with the fact that Alkibiades is called in "The Clouds" (v. 1163) Λυσανίας πατρώων μεγάλων κακῶν.

¹⁹² Toup. Addenda in Theocrit. p. 409.

observation of Suidas, that it was ὄνομα κύριον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, and partly from a scholion on Plato,¹⁹³ in which it is said: Ἡ γὰρ τὸν Τριφάλητα τίκτουςά φησι· λάβεισθε, καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὁμοῦ, whence it is clear, that the mother of Triphales bore also a part in the play. I do not venture to decide whether (as might be argued from the words of the Scholiast, and from those of the mother, which appear to be a summons to several persons, to lay hold of the runaway Triphales,) his birth too may not have been introduced within the limits of the story at least, if not those of the stage. Who would venture to set bounds to the fancy of Aristophanes, to which it would have been no great violence, to have given birth and growth to the hero of the piece in the course of it?¹⁹⁴ If, then, the allusion in this drama were to Alkibiades, it may fairly be taken for granted, that he was himself under the name of Τριφάλης, the principal personage in the play; and perhaps Toup referred to the passage above quoted, when he said: *Sed hominem illum (τὸν Τριφάλητα) qui mihi probè suspectus est, non moror.* We are not, however, to suppose that Aristophanes actually portrayed Deionomache under the image of the mother of Triphales Alkibiades, but the state itself, which had given him birth, and allowed him to grow up; to which explanation we are likewise led by the expression, also in reference to Alkibiades, ἡ πόλις γὰρ εὐστοκεῖ in line 1435 of “The Frogs.” The name and the allusion

¹⁹³ Ad Phædon. p. 380.

¹⁹⁴ I remember in Cook's second voyage the account of a play (which, however, I of course mention, without thinking of any further comparison,) given to the voyagers in one of the Society Islands, in which an accouchement takes place—the infant comes into the world full grown, and to the amusement of the whole audience, runs up and down the stage with the navel-string.

have thus not merely a reference to the disorderly disposition of Alkibiades, but they acquire one still more significant, to the mutilation of the Hermai, which did not affect their faces alone.¹⁹⁵ For already on a similar occasion in "The Lysistrata" (v. 1094), Aristophanes had mentioned it; and his former accusation on this subject, and on the profanation of the mysteries, bore so hard upon Alkibiades, that after his return to Athens, he publicly defended himself against it.¹⁹⁶ The Ἑρμῆς Τρικέφαλος, which Hesychios quotes from the Τριφάλης, and by which we are to understand one particular Hermes in Athens,¹⁹⁷ which had been erected by Patrokleides, or Eukleides, was one of the number; and, perhaps the name Τριφάλης was suggested by and intended as a contrast to that Hermes, and the mutilations which had taken place; it would thus be literally in accordance with the meaning of the word, and the appearance of the character represented on the stage: nor is this at all improbable, when we reflect on the predominant influence of the Φάλης upon the old comic theatre, and on the humour of Aristophanes. Whilst then, from the foregoing illustrations, we acquire the knowledge of a more definite political tendency of the Τριφάλης, namely, to oppose the recall of Alkibiades (whence the several incidents of the story received their meaning; for example, the running away of Triphales is explained by the escape of Alkibiades, after he was ordered home from Sicily): the time of its exhibition is also more precisely indicated; and this, from the allusion to Theramenes

¹⁹⁵ Sluiter Lectt. Andocid. p. 50. Photios voc. Ἑρμοκοπίσαι οἱ τῶν Ἑρμῶν τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποκόψαντες.

¹⁹⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. I. 4, 20 sq.

¹⁹⁷ Sluiter, l. c. p. 41.

above cited, must have been subsequent to "The Lysistrata," and between the dissolution of the four hundred, and the recall of Alkibiades, consequently during the second year of the 94th Olympiad. The expression put into the mouth of Aischylos at a later period, in "The Frogs," appears now to be much more to the point than before, and to assume a more lively and important part in the chain of constant and special attention, with which Aristophanes kept watch upon Alkibiades. Besides, in the *Triphales*, as well in the conduct of the whole piece, as in single instances, many traits were assuredly pointed out from the life and character of Alkibiades. Thus it is probable that he and no other is the subject of the fragment preserved by Athenaios.¹⁹⁸ We are there told, that several foreigners of distinction had frequented the society of some individual or other, not named in the fragment, and had earnestly entreated him to take with him a beautiful boy, and dispose of him by sale in some one of the luxurious islands of Ionia, or other cities, such as Chios, Klazomenai, Ephesos or Abydos, in whose markets such merchandise was much in request. Now Alkibiades had in early life visited and lived as a voluptuary in those countries, as appears from Antiphon's invective against him, which follows this fragment in Athenaios, and from Lysias' account of his debaucheries quoted by the same author;¹⁹⁹ and at a later period he had again resided there before his return to Athens.²⁰⁰ Is it not then probably the young *Triphales* himself, whom the foreigners were so eager to possess, and to have sold

¹⁹⁸ XII. c. 5, p. 525, a. conf. Jacobs. animad. in Athenæum, p. 284.

¹⁹⁹ XII. c. 9, p. 534, f. sq. XIII. c. 4, p. 574, d. sq.

²⁰⁰ Plut. Alcib. c. 27, 29.

in their own country, noted as this country was as the theatre of the exploits of Alkibiades, himself notorious for his infamous traffic with his fellow-men, and years before reckoned by Aristophanes amongst the *Εὐρυπρόκτοι*? We may moreover conclude from the active intercessions of Theramenes for the recall of Alkibiades, that the two were most fitly joined together in the *Τριφάλης*, and it is probable, that besides the allusion already quoted, the former was frequently brought forward in the play: certainly he was a chief promoter of this recall,²⁰¹ if, as Diodoros asserts, he was not the whole and sole cause of it.

Kritias also must here be noticed in conjunction with Alkibiades and Theramenes, although I am not yet able to show that Aristophanes looked upon him in the same light as the former, or even as the latter.²⁰² But he had followed the same course of

²⁰¹ Diodor. XIII. 38, 42. Cornel. Nep. Alcib. c. 5, 4.

²⁰² It would be difficult to explain why Kritias should have entirely escaped the criticisms and sarcasm of Aristophanes, as he was a man of distinguished family, of a refined education, great knowledge of the world, and mental accomplishments, one of the early pupils of Sokrates, and certainly older than Alkibiades; for immediately after the battle of Potidaia, he appears as guardian of his cousin Charmides. Plato. Charmid. c. 5, fin. Heindorf. ad c. 5, Schneider ad Xenoph. Hellen. III. c. 1. He certainly also had distinguished himself as a political character, doubtless as a partisan of the oligarchy, as he had been banished by the people (Xenoph. Hellen. II. 3, 15. Mem. I. 2, 24), and must afterwards have been recalled. On this account, and also in consequence of his other connections, &c. he could not well have been overlooked by Aristophanes. Probably many attacks on Kritias, as well as upon Alkibiades, and Theramenes, may have disappeared with the lost portion of the works of Aristophanes, and that is by far the largest part; perhaps, too, in the plays and fragments which we possess, many allusions to him may be concealed, which have not yet been discovered. Or what grounds can we imagine, on which the poet may have spared him?

education as those two; like Alkibiades, he was a pupil of Gorgias,²⁰³ he had been likewise, as we learn from Plato, a follower of Sokrates, and is even ranked amongst the sophists. Moreover, as Alkibiades was accused of ἀσέβεια, so was Kritias counted amongst the ἄθροι.²⁰⁴ He was also closely united in the same political interests with Alkibiades, at least prior to the anarchy, as is clear from the resolution of the people for the recall of Alkibiades, which he had drawn up, and the distichs by which he had claimed the merit of it as his own;²⁰⁵ but he showed his treachery to his friend, when, as chief of the thirty tyrants, he hinted to Lysandros, that as long as Alkibiades lived, there was no security for the constitution.²⁰⁶ And it was ever a subject of reproach against Sokrates, that as Kritias was the grasping and tyrannical individual in the oligarchy, Alkibiades was the most licentious and arrogant in the democracy.²⁰⁷

If this could have been alleged at a later period by the accusers of Sokrates before the criminal court (although in truth, the principle of evil had not been

²⁰³ Philost. Vit. Soph. 9, p. 493.

²⁰⁴ Sextus Empir. Hypotypos, III. p. 155, ed. Colon. It is difficult to say with any certainty, whether the lines which Sextus cites, to prove this fact, from the Sisyphos of Kritias (ad Mathematicos, IX. p. 318), and which Plutarch (De placit. philos. c. 6) quotes from the Sisyphos of Euripides, belong to the former or to the latter. Valckenaer Diatrib. p. 209) assigns it to Kritias, and Wytttenbach defers to the authority of Plutarch.

²⁰⁵ Plut. Alcib. 33.

²⁰⁶ Id. ibid. c. 38. Cornel. Nep. Alcib. c. 10, 1. His exclusively selfish character ever guided by his own interests is proved by the democratical tendency of his actions in Thessaly, where he lived during his banishment, though he had previously favoured the oligarchy.

²⁰⁷ Xenoph. Mem. I. 2, 12 sq. Philost. Vit. Soph. 16, p. 501. Luzac. I. c. p. 134.

engrafted by him either on Alkibiades or on Kritias), how much more likely was it, that the circumstances, in which these and others of the same stamp, when still youths, as well as the men who have been already mentioned, stood at this, or at any former period, either in respect to one another, or to Sokrates, or to the natural philosophers, or to the sophists, should have given a large and ample field to the comic poet, for representing under the person and mask of Sokrates, the focus or central point of all those motives and tendencies which thus bound them together ! Especially if, as we think we have proved it to be highly probable, when he drew the character of Pheidippides, he had Alkibiades in his eye, how natural was it for him to join with the former the friend and instructor of the latter, as the master who was to teach him the cunning art. Indeed, in accordance with all that has been said, I cannot but consider this motive of sufficient importance for Aristophanes to have been most especially and irresistibly determined by it, or rather for his having willingly yielded to it. If we now recall to mind the close connection which existed between Perikles, Alkibiades, and Sokrates, and moreover, that certain allusions, above quoted, to the lineage of Pheidippides, implicated the former of these personages ; but, above all, if we remember the advice, by which Alkibiades, before he was twenty years of age, had suggested to his uncle the means of relieving himself from great embarrassments, and if we admit the application, which, as above observed, it is probable that some of the main incidents in " The Clouds " bear to that advice, we must allow it to be perfectly natural, that Strepsiades and Pheidippides should be brought into close contact with Sokrates,

who performs the office of the intermediate party, (see page 3); Strepsiades indeed coming forward, not as the representative of Perikles, but of the people who had taken their lesson from their leader, and strove to ape his manners. The grounds for introducing Sokrates as the master of the school of sophistry, are thus fully and completely developed in the persons with whom he was in connection.

What though the dramatic character of Sokrates may fail in real resemblance as a portrait—if this were to be our stumbling-block, what else would it be, than substituting the point of view, which would suit the writer of history, for that whence we ought to form our judgment of a comic poet? For however much historical truth forms upon the whole the groundwork of “The Clouds,” as it does in all the fictions of Aristophanes, it is not because the world, which, as the creature of his own wit, he holds up to reality as its form and mirror, corresponds literally to that reality, and to each several lineament of every figure which it assumes, but that this poetical world has adopted from reality just as much as belonged to the fidelity of the whole, and was indispensable, in order to facilitate to the people his contemporaries, the transition from reality to the free imitation of it in the domain of art, and to render visible to their eyes the thread which bound art and reality together; whilst the contrast between the two was separately and distinctly exhibited by every finesse and contrivance of the comic muse, by raillery, satire, irony, and caricature, by the wildest combinations of the fancy, often intermixed with the wiles and charms of the most beautiful and harmonious poetry. Nor are we here to ask of Aristophanes how the individual Sokrates may have ap-

peared to his confidential pupils, to Xenophon, to Plato, to Pheidon, to Kebes, and others, nor how he was to appear to us, according to the analysis, which we have it in our power to form to ourselves, of what he was and what he did; but how he might be represented to the great mass of the Athenian people, that is, how they comprehended and judged him from his outward and visible signs; and how they understood and appreciated the usual extravagancies of the comic poets; in short, how it was to be managed, that whilst his name, and his mask, caricatured to the utmost, were kept together by fundamental affinities, the former might appear sufficiently justified, and be not improperly placed in connection with individuals, who were displaying before the eyes of the public the germs which were developed in Alkibiades, and the early results to which they had given birth. But as the people saw Sokrates for ever and deeply employed, either in meditations, like the natural philosophers, *φροντίζειν*, or like the sophists in instructive intercourse with the youth, *σοφίζεσθαι*, as Perikles called it, (supra page 52), and as he was frequently engaged in conversation with those sophists, (besides many palpable points of resemblance, calculated to mislead even those who observed him more closely), it would necessarily follow, that they reckoned him one of that community, as Aischines himself does when²⁰⁸ he calls him a sophist; judging then as they did from outward appearances, they comprehended him in the same category with those of his associates, whom they knew to be most engaged on the theatre of public life. Aristophanes himself seems to have had no

²⁰⁸ In Timarch. p. 346, ed. Bekker.

other notion of Sokrates; at least the whole range of his comedy furnishes us with many characteristic traits perfectly similar to the picture we have of him in "The Clouds." In "The Birds" (v. 1282) the poet expresses by *ἔσωκράτουν* the ideal of a hardy mode of life, and neglect of outward appearances; and in v. 1554 sq. he represents Sokrates, who is there called the unwashed (*ἀλουτος*,²⁰⁹) as *ψυχαγωγός*, conductor of souls, maker of images, conjurer-up of spirits, who is obeyed by the shadowy forms of his scholars, amongst whom Chairephon is particularly designated, the same that is assailed also in the clouds, and on various other occasions by the comic poets²¹⁰ as the confidential friend of his youth. We may admit a similar double sense in the *ψυχῶν σοφῶν* of v. 94 in "The Clouds." As Sokrates' pupils or famuli are here introduced as ghosts, and the master as their conjurer, so on the other hand in the *Γηρυτιάδης*²¹¹ Aristophanes has styled certain pale and haggard, tragic and cyclic poets, *ἄϊδοφοίτας*, i. e. visitors of Hades, and sends them as ambassadors to those of the same trade, already inhabitants of that region. Strepsiades also, in "The Clouds," (v. 504) is fearful of becoming one of these half-dead gentry (*ἡμιθνής*) under the tuition of Sokrates. And not only in "The Clouds," but in "The Frogs" also near the end, the Sokratic dialogues are ridiculed, as solemn twaddle,²¹² and empty nonsense. Although

²⁰⁹ Reisig, in his Preface to "The Clouds," p. xix. happily shows how this word, by changing the punctuation, must be separated from *λίμνη*, and connected with *Σωκράτης*.

²¹⁰ Schol. Platon. p. 331.

²¹¹ See the fragment in Athenæo, XII. p. 551, a.

²¹² *Σειμνοῖσιν*, as in this passage, was the expression in general use in Athens, to cast ridicule on the habit of philosophising. Hemsterh. app. animadv. in Lucian. p. 9.

therefore the chief purpose of Sokrates' appearance in "The Clouds" is on account of Alkibiades, who is principally aimed at in the character of Pheidippides, and though this motive for introducing him necessarily influenced the formation of that character, yet is it evident that the picture of Sokrates and his school, as portrayed in "The Clouds," was not created by Aristophanes merely for the purposes of this comedy, but that he had for his groundwork a definite and decided model.

This exposition of the play of "The Clouds" differs as much from the opinion, which many entertain, that Aristophanes did not in the character of Sokrates point at him individually, but exclusively at the Sophists, as it does from the most recent interpretation which has appeared on the subject;²¹³ namely, that Sokrates himself was directly and pointedly assailed in "The Clouds," because he really stood upon the same ground as the Sophists, namely, that of the subjective philosophy, which did not rest on anything absolute as a fixed and permanent rule of conduct, but which was ever searching after first causes; and he was thus in fact mixed up with and implicated in their principle, which substituted licentious subtleties, and unfixed opinions, in place of the single and direct conception of an acknowledged *datum*: he might even be considered as the representative of this principle; and on this account not only was

²¹³ This is to be found in two tracts, which, though of small extent, are remarkable on account of the important philosophical school, whose character neither of them discredit, whilst both agree in the judgment they pass on Sokrates and Aristophanes. The one is von Henning's *Principles of Ethics*, p. 40 sq. and the other is Röttcher's *Disquisitio de Aristophanis ingenii principio: pars prior* (Berol. 1825) p. 45.

Aristophanes entitled to represent him as the master of the school, the essential quality of which was to undermine the stability of the morals and constitution of the country, but the Athenians also, twenty years later, were warranted in arraigning him before the criminal tribunal; although on the other hand both Sokrates himself, and the principle which he introduced, have been justified in history, as the subjective philosophy must necessarily have some time or other come to this open breach, in order to arrive at a more exalted reconciliation with that which is only objective.

The former of these opinions rests, first, upon the erroneous notion, that the attack made in "The Clouds" is not so much directed against a principle, as against individuals; and, secondly, on the groundless supposition above alluded to, that a comic poet had it in his power, under the guise of a personal attack, whilst he portrayed and indicated one individual, to make another to be understood; and that he could engage his audience at once to make this distinction between the one who was placed before their eyes, and the other who was really meant.

The second notion is based upon the history of philosophy, and its closer examination comes more within the province of the professors of that branch of knowledge. But as far as concerns the question: "Whether Aristophanes, whom we are not now attempting to defend,²¹⁴ but only to explain, in his school of sophistical refinement, and in its master, intended anything more than a formal resemblance with the real Sokrates?" it has been already sufficiently demonstrated, that the poet has painted to

²¹⁴ v. Henning, p. 41; Röttcher, p. 45.

the life in all its emptiness and frivolity the sophistical principle of subjective philosophy, as a thoroughly speculative system, now dependent upon chance, now the creature of arbitrary will—and that he was fully entitled to represent it as destructive of the domestic and public life in Athens, and to foretell the mischief which would ensue from its dominion, in as much as the numerous manifestations of this principle would necessarily be infallible symptoms of a general dissolution, commencing in the core, and extending through all the ramifications of the political and social state of the republic—for the subjective philosophy (i. e. purely abstract reasoning), applied to practical objects engender also a subjective will, (i. e. a licentious independence,) just as speculations in natural philosophy, if perfectly subjective, would have had a similar influence on the universe, if the thoughts and reasonings of man could have operated upon the natural world, as they do operate upon moral relations. It is also a truth, not now for the first time admitted, that such an enfranchisement from the trammels of objective philosophy, and the gradual substitution of that which is subjective, is an essential ingredient in the march of the human intellect, individually as well as generally; hence arise many mistakes and errors to which we are exposed before we arrive unfettered at the point where the subject has found the true object, where subjectivity and objectivity are reciprocally mingled one with the other, and where the cultivation of the life of man can be based on a permanent principle: this is justified historically as well as morally, by the purpose in view, and by the earnestness and purity of subjective en-

quiry. But no one, who is conversant with the writings of Xenophon, or the *Apology*, or the *Kriton* of Plato, can believe that Sokrates was wrapped up in subjective disquisitions on objects as well of science as of conduct, like the sophists, whose pompous semblance of knowledge he destroys by his overpowering dialectics, or that he agreed with them in denying the existence of one first and final bond and rule of thought and conduct; and though doubts may be thrown upon the genuineness of the *apology*, and should even both that and the *Kriton* be rejected by some, as of doubtful authority, still Xenophon alone is sufficient to convince us, that Sokrates fully and entirely admitted an objective knowledge which he placed in God; and that the general form of this knowledge as he conceived it—namely, that nothing contradictory could exist in it, is evidently the fundamental and leading idea²¹⁵ which was ever present to his mind in all his enquiries;—that on the other hand he taught that mere human wisdom was vanity,²¹⁶ and that it was therefore totally useless for any one to spend his time in empty speculations on those metaphysical and physical objects, upon which it was out of man's power to attain such knowledge; but he believed, that in lieu thereof, he ought rather to observe and admire them in their manifestations and effects, that is, as they offered themselves to the senses, and only to endeavour to learn their influence upon human life;²¹⁷ that he implicitly

²¹⁵ Schleiermacher on the Merits of Sokrates as a Philosopher, . 61, sq.

²¹⁶ Plato *Apolog.* Opp. P. I. V. 2. p. 96, sq. p. 101. Τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει—τιῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τοῦτω τοῦτο λέγειν, ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδενός.

²¹⁷ Xen. Mem. I. 1, 11. sq. IV. 7, 6, sq. I. 4, 8, sq. IV. 3.

followed the will of the gods made known to him by oracles and signs, and by the inner voice, his *δαίμων* he gave up indeed his whole life to the service of that will,²¹⁸ enjoining as earnestly upon others the worship of the gods in conformity to the regulations of each state (*νόμῳ πόλεως*),²¹⁹ and the observance of their oracles and signs, as he himself declined in the minutest points to deviate from the common moral habits of Greece ;—that he observed in his own person, and recommended to others, as the measure and rule of conduct, the *νόμιμον*, which to him was also the *δίκαιον*, and which was partly based on the universal unwritten divine law, and in part on the positive laws and ordinances of man ;²²⁰ that consequently it was in no wise the abstract form of arbitrary will, but the fixed and definite injunctions of the ordinances of God and man, that is positive and immediate given facts, which were to be deemed the final and most exalted basis of morals and of justice. A philosopher, who took his stand so firmly and decidedly on the basis of real life, and who exerted himself to lead others to it, or to confirm them in it, whose system of dialectics obtained the ascendancy, not only from its sound foundation and consistency, but from its power of resolving all captious propositions or arbitrary assumptions, in respect to the form of knowledge, into the above-mentioned fundamental idea, sufficiently objective as it is, of general harmony, and in respect to ethical purposes, into a po-

²¹⁸ Xen. See the above quoted passages, and especially I. 1, 2-9 and 19. I. 3, 2-4, 4, 15. IV. 3, 14. Plato Apol. p. 97, 113, 114, 116, 119, sq. Crito, p 145.

²¹⁹ Xen. Mem. IV. 3, 16, sq.

²²⁰ Id. IV. 4, 12, 25, 6, 5, and 6.

sitive ordinance, (although this last did not always present itself in a definite shape,)—who in every thing he did, as far as depended on human knowledge, the rights of which he confined within their proper limits,²²¹ acted, not blindly, but on the principle, which, after due consideration, appeared to him the best;²²² and this principle not invented by him, as was the practice with the sophists, on an arbitrary view of his own interest, nor formed upon the fluctuating and discordant opinions of the crowd, but upon divine or human law, and on truth itself, which, when found, and be it only in one individual, (if such there be) who has a just conception of right and wrong, of honour and dishonour, of good and evil, must be revered and feared in preference to all others;²²³ a principle, in short, which is found in the laws of the state, declaring, as they do, the land in which we are born to be our unfettered lord and master, more to be honoured than our fathers and forefathers, and which, under no circumstances whatever ought to be injured, not even in retaliation of our own presumed wrongs,²²⁴—who clearly saw that if he offended the laws of his own country, the other Greek States who were satisfied with their constitution would not bear with him, because by the violation of the principles of right in Athens he would

²²¹ Xen. Mem. I. 1, 9. Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρώπινης γνώμης, δαιμονίᾳν ἔφη· δαιμονίᾳν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἂ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν.

²²² Plato Crit. p. 149.

²²³ Ib. p. 152. καὶ δὴ καὶ—ἡ ξύμπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους, p. 153. Οὐκ ἄρα—καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια.

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 160, sq.

have announced himself²²⁵ as a *διαφθορεὺς τῶν νόμων* generally, that is an enemy of all legitimate govern-

²²⁵ Ib. p. 165, sq. The position laid down by Henning, p. 50, apparently in contradiction to what is stated in the text, "that on the Sokratical principle individual laws are by no means to be considered as absolutely irresistible and immutable," is totally devoid of proof; as although Sokrates either set himself up in opposition to, or did not obey the unjust commands of those in power, whether under the democracy or the oligarchy (Xen. Hellen. I. 7, 15. Mem. I. 1, 18. Plat. Apolog. p. 120), and though he censured upon principle the crimes abuses and follies of the Demos, as stoutly as Aristophanes did (e.g. Xen. Mem. I. 2, 9, Aristot. Rhetor. II. 20, 4), yet is there no example of his not conforming to the laws, or of his urging others to resist them. Besides, in a constitutional point of view, the individual laws were never considered in Athens as immutable, for the enactments of Solon themselves rather laid down the conditions and forms, under which changes might be proposed for deliberation. The well-known discourse between Sokrates (Xen. Mem. IV. 2, 9, sq.) and Euthydemus has indeed been quoted, to characterize in an especial manner this presumed position of Sokrates, "that subjectivity had stepped into the place of laws, institutions, and other enactments of immediate application, and was itself become the ultimate rule and standard," proving at the same time that which was formerly a steady holdfast to the unprejudiced and honest conscience, to be in reality of a vacillatory nature; but this discourse has been cruelly misunderstood, and it would only be necessary to read through the whole, and especially the 21st § (for the *ἐξέτασις* of Euthydemus, which is ever conducted in the same manner by new questions, and finally his own confession, § 30, ought to be well weighed), in order to have a clear conception of the views of Sokrates. These were no other than to draw this young man through a series of groundless and vague changes from one opinion to another, from the definite and express avowal of one maxim and then of another upon things which he fancied he already knew, to a conviction of his own ignorance and insignificance. It is sufficiently clear, from Xenoph. Mem. II. 2, 2, and from the Kritias of Plato, p. 156, 157, that Sokrates knew full well, that under no pretence, and no circumstances was it permitted to do wrong, nor even to repay wrong with wrong; and if he held acts of violence against enemies in war (*πολεμίους*) to be justifiable, he granted nothing more than what is admitted by states and people all over the world; and most particularly he did not go a step beyond the grounds of what was universally received and acted upon throughout Greece.

ment, and of all lawful institutions throughout Greece — such a philosopher, surely, as I have thus described, neither bore within himself, nor contributed to extend a principle, which endangered the actual state of things, and threatened the dissolution of the whole system of Grecian polity. The relation in which Sokrates the Athenian really stood becomes then so much the more intelligible, as in opposition to the new doctrines which strangers had introduced into the city, he directed all his energies towards drawing philosophy away from purely subjective speculations, and rescuing his fellow-citizens from fortuitous and arbitrary springs of action. By a conscientious perception of the purpose for which we act, and thence of the manner in which we act, called by him *ἐπιστήμη* and *σοφία*, (a term which implies his wish to be considered as one of the *διδάσχοι* of the political system of Solon,) he endeavoured to produce²²⁶ in those who approached him, a fitness for every occupation of life, or *ἀρετή*. This *ἀρετή* supplied the place of *ἡῆσις* and *πάσις* (habits and affections), the want of which in the Sokratic philosophy was alluded to by Aristotle,²²⁷ but which Xenophon,²²⁸ in reference to the universal grounds of action, comprehends under the word *φύσις*. Sokrates however never lost sight of, and was constantly referring to, the laws of God and man, order and morality; and although some of his explanations and demonstrations, founded upon the names

²²⁶ Xen. Mem. III. 9, 4, and V, 2, 4, and many examples in Memorabilia.

²²⁷ Magna Moralia, I. 1, c.

²²⁸ Mem. III. 1, 7, *καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ εἶναι τὸν εὖ στρατηγήσοντα ἔχειν*. Both, therefore, belonged to the *ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀρετή*, as he calls it III. 2, 4. This subject is also treated, but not satisfactorily, in the Principles of Ethics, p. 46.

of certain things and actions, were the result of the view he took of the *νενομισμένον*, i. e. the gradual developement in the lapse of time, of customs and usage, as the basis of human relations, yet did he only labour for that which was permanent, and in opposition to the principle which was working out the destruction of all permanence, and the dissolution of the body politic of Athens.²²⁹ On this account too, if we consider Sokrates as one distinct individual, and as a moral being, we can grant to Aristophanes no more than a formal and poetical right, to give the form and name of Sokrates to his master of the school of casuistry, and to the representative of the sophistico-rhetorical education, which he has attacked; though if we consider the poet as having Alkibiades in his view in the character of Pheidippides, and other external circumstances connected therewith, the whole is based upon a groundwork of reality. But we must on no account, by any inversion of the relative positions, in which the philosopher and the poet stood towards each other, pretend to exalt beyond what has appeared in the foregoing details, the purity and dignity of Sokrates

²²⁹ Sokrates thought that this might have been invigorated by the renovation of ancestral virtue and morals; Xen. Mem. III. 5, 8, sq. whereas on the contrary the ruin of Athens was the result of many other causes, which ensured the full operation of the sophistical principle, especially of the selfish and ambitious demagogues (Thuc. II. 65), and the unbridled democracy, the origin of which again proceeded from other circumstances, which the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* attributed to Xenophon (compare also Schneider in his Prolegomena to that work. p. 82, sq.), puts in a very striking point of view; in perfect accordance too with Aristotle (See Politic. II. 10), so that it is evident, that it was chiefly from the political principles which Athens had adopted, and which had, for the most part, grown out of its foreign relations, that the republic fell into that complication of disorders which drove it to its ruin.

in reference to the poet, or his importance as a political character. Upon this last subject some further observations will hereafter be subjoined.

It is however in the conclusion of "the Clouds" that we perceive the real earnestness, with which Aristophanes composed a drama, which from all that has been said, must be considered,²³⁰ as well as the other comedies of this poet, in the light of a political performance: all these works coincided with, and hinged upon the crisis of the Athenian republic; and even where he does not directly treat of political affairs, but of the false direction given to the education of the youth, to oratory and to poetry, he always keeps his eyes on the important part, which politics bore, in that crisis. One feature in this conclusion of the piece has been found fault with, though unjustly so, if the conduct of the story be rightly conceived. Hermann²³¹ declares the action to be incomplete, as it ought to have been decided whether Strepsiades' plan to get rid of his debts by cheaterly and intrigue had succeeded or not, and that therefore it was not sufficient, that he should drive away his creditors from his door with a string of sophisms, and that they should in return threaten him with lawsuits, but that Strepsiades ought to have been condemned to pay, stripped of his property and cast into prison; in order that the spectators might see that he had himself fallen into the snares which he had prepared for others. But besides that this judgement of the court would have been a useless exten-

²³⁰ The accomplished author of the memoir upon Aristophanes in the Supplements to Sulzer, vol. 7. sp. 1, will probably agree with this view, though it may differ from the opinion he has advanced upon the subject in p. 133.

²³¹ Præfat. ad Nub. p. XLIII. sq.

sion of the piece, even without introducing it upon the stage, Aristophanes solves his problem in the most complete manner, and in as perfect conformity with the tendency of the whole, the problem being to show how the old gentleman failed in his iniquitous project, as could have been brought about by a judicial sentence passed upon him; and this by turning the very means, which Strepsiades had chosen for his own purposes, namely the education of his son in the school of speculative casuistry in order that with his assistance he might afterwards drive a successful trade, by turning this his scheme to his own signal prejudice, and by making it in the end the means of his own conversion from base and artful shifts (v. 1462 sq.), so as to leave no room for the judicial interference of a tribunal, in which a victory of sophistry over right, and not the condemnation of Strepsiades, would have been more in harmony with the notions prevalent in the mind of Aristophanes on the character of the administration of justice in his time. In this view then the conduct of the drama is perfectly consistent, and nothing is reasonably felt to be wanting for its completion.

The second head of accusation concerns the ill-treatment, which the old man experiences from his son:²³² this objection has originated in an erroneous conception of the object of the poet, and of the relation in which the master of sophistry and the school of sophistry stood towards each other in the story of "The Clouds," founded as it is upon that relation. For this ill-treatment is the acme of the pernicious influence of the new fangled doctrine and education, which Aristophanes exposes also, as the result of

²³² Id. p. XLIV.

the same cause in v. 1059 of "The Wasps;" nor could he have selected any other fact equally symbolical, if he wished to exhibit in the most striking manner to parents, and to the people in general, what would be their fate, if they continued to foster this system of education, favourable as it apparently was to their own selfish and iniquitous spirit of litigiousness, but directly counter to their higher interests and wishes; and it is evident that this is the express object of the poet, from the preparatory allusions to such application, which are contained in v. 809, sq. 865, 1113, sq. 1303, sq., from the address of Strepsiades to the spectators, v. 1437, and from the explanation which the choros of Clouds gives to the father himself, v. 1458 sq., on the mode in which they had treated him. This ill treatment, therefore, is not at all misplaced.

But if it be true that the story of the piece, which begins with the first stirring of his scheme on the old rogue's sleepless bed, is in fact brought to a conclusion by the abandonment of his unrighteous purposes, attended as they had been with such sad results, it must be admitted, with Hermann,²³³ that the vengeance he afterwards takes on the house of the sophists and on their master, is in form at least an excrescence; nor is its introduction rendered necessary by any incident or expression in the course of the play. For however naturally we may explain the extreme anger of Strepsiades, at having been so grievously duped by the inmates of the school, still it was by his own seeking, and by his own inconsiderate conduct that he had brought it upon himself. Sokrates had not pressed himself upon him,

²³³ Præfat. ad Nub. p. XLV. sq.

nor had Chairephon or any other of the scholars prompted or seduced either him or Pheidippides; Sokrates is therefore by no means to be considered as the prime motive of the action of the play, but merely as the means of bringing it about by the free choice of Strepsiades, according to the conception above announced in page 3 of this Essay. The course of the story did not therefore at all render it necessary that the consequences of the scheme which induced the one to act, should have been visited upon the other. Imprecations and curses might have been the extreme of what properly belonged to the course of the story, by which Strepsiades might have given vent to his rage. But that Aristophanes went further, and made Strepsiades visit his wrath upon the sophistical school by its destruction, is sufficiently explained by the supposition, that the end the poet had in view, got the better of him, and made him forget the form. The grave and earnest manner indeed, in which he has grappled with the subject of "The Clouds," which is of the highest importance to the political and private interests of the republic, urged him to point out also the treatment, which the seat and source of the mischief, which was seizing hold of the youth, and which was leading the elder portion of the community along treacherous and false paths, properly deserved, and how they ought to deal with it, in order to protect the state from greater injury. The fact however of this incident not being necessarily grounded upon the story, cannot be accounted precisely as a fault, if we call to mind the loose and easy construction of the old comedy, the essential character of which did not demand the same strictness in form, as the old

tragedy, though even this is not always consistent; and we can hardly suppose that it could have injured the piece at the time. It may indeed have been thought by the judges at the exhibition somewhat too tragic, and not exactly conformable to the spirit of comedy, and so far may have contributed to the failure of the play. But it is evident that Aristophanes was too strongly impressed with the serious character of the whole of his subject matter, which he had taken so deeply to heart, to preserve throughout his wonted ironical humour, to which he had given such free scope in "The Acharnians," and in "The Knights," which breaks out in "The Clouds" for example, in the conclusion of the dispute between the λόγος δίκαιος, and ἄδικος, in the choros too, as will soon be shown more precisely, and which continues to develope itself more and more freely, with the encreasing experience of the poet in practical life, and the cultivation of his mind: though indeed he had it in his power to keep up his irony quite to the close of the piece,²³⁴ if the young

²³⁴ I do not see how the close of this drama would have been improved by the change proposed by Reisig, (l. c. p. 23), and adopted by Dindorf, according to which the exclamation (v. 1504) should have been made, not by Sokrates, but by one of his pupils. The little spark of irony which by this change is thrown into the scene, namely, that whilst Strepsiades is venting his rage, and the scholars crying aloud, Sokrates remains absorbed in his meditation with the most indifferent tranquillity, is no feature common to the whole play, and conduces in no way to the more comic catastrophe desired by Wolf. Besides this change of person does not seem to me at all admissible. The scholars first cry out in v. 1493, 1495, 1497, 1498. It is now the turn of the master and of his famulus Chairephon, whom Strepsiades had disposed of according to v. 1465; and Aristophanes is a great deal too much in earnest throughout this closing scene, not to have given its fullest weight to the threat, and not to

ladies in their cloudy vesture had protected their high priest against the indignation of Strepsiades, and had prevented the destruction of his home, consecrated as it was to their worship. This would have been no more than justice, and would have cast an additional stigma on the direction things were taking, and on the shortsightedness of those who gave way to it; addressing at the same time this bitter sarcasm to the people: "only wait a while, and you will soon learn to what it leads." The whole keeping of the choros would then have been throughout maintained in the same ironical character, which is displayed, as the play goes on, in their relation to the school of sophistry, in the initiation of Strepsiades, and in the manner, in which he is in a great degree taken up, and treated by them; (e. g. v. 358, sq. 412, sq. 427, sq. 804, sq. 1345, sq. &c.) whilst their serious ends and aims are only now and then brought forward, as in 1303, sq. 1454-1461, somewhat more pointedly than would perhaps have been necessary, if the conclusion of the piece had been different; thus "The Ekklesiazousai," "The Birds" also, and some other of the plays do not in the concluding scene place in a prominent light the fanciful and visionary results of the respective stories, but they dwell upon them with an irony, which connects them with real life, and which announces the lessons the poet had in view, more vividly than if they had ended in a developement strictly in accordance with the moral of his fable.

The object of this Essay does not call for any

have exhibited Sokrates, who was at all events roused in v. 1502, from his state of repose, as fully sensible of its extent. The answer too with which Strepsiades replies (v. 1506, 1507) to their cry of horror, fits only those two, Sokrates and Chairephon.

extended discussion on the choros of the old comedy. It appears only necessary to observe, that in the same manner as in the regular and complete choros of the old tragedy, is concentrated the whole essence of that species of composition, namely the annihilation and disappearance of the countershocks of life, in reference to its highest and most general fundamental laws, before that eternal harmony and repose of divine power, which penetrates through all discords and contentions (in conformity to its original destination, which was to celebrate the deeds and sovereignty of the gods), so also is the essence of the old comedy concentrated within its choros; this essence is the representation of the countershocks of life in the sphere of its social order, and in reference to its very special and relative laws, absurd and ridiculous as they are, and, therefore, exposed to perpetual change and dissolution (in perfect conformity with this species of poetry, derived as it was from the joking and quizzing *κῶμοι*), with the help too of all the arms of banter, malice, and raillery which the story of the play offers, as well as those of the most solemn seriousness; and thus by the complicated machinery of all kinds of follies and absurdities playing into, and contrasting with one another, it scatters about, even as if it were a picture of all that is more pure and noble in life, flowers of the most beautiful poetry. Indeed, in accordance with the true character and purport of the piece, the choros, immediately upon entering, assumes a high and commanding station as to the main point of the story, which, agreeably to the political nature of the old comedy, is that of the real interests of the state and people of Athens, (or, as in "The Lysistrata" of the whole of Greece, where this

is maintained by the choros of women against the pretended private interests of Athens, which are supported by the choros of elders), and from this station it follows up its business in the conduct of the story, as in "The Knights," "The Lysistrata," "The Frogs," and "The Ekklesiazousai," with a greater or less dose of irony, but never without displaying a consciousness of its own superiority. At times, however, and generally after a severe struggle and an obstinate fight, overpowered by the perseverance of a well-meaning friend, of one who, on these occasions, represents the just discernment of the people, it rises above the partial and one-sided view which it had taken, and assumes a higher and a better station; and then, with the exception of the parabasis, is itself, as in "The Acharnians," "The Wasps," and "The Birds," in great part an object for the shafts of irony, as one of the acting personages of the piece; or again in the main incident, as in "The Thesmophoriazousai," "The Ekklesiazousai," and in "The Lysistrata," it at once defends the truth; but being engaged in some conflict or other with general usage and the present order of things, it is at times, in the highest spirit of arch roguery, the object of its own irony; or it goes at once, as in "The Peace," right onward, to side with the good principle brought forward in the story, whilst it indulges largely in raillery and banter on those who think differently.²³⁵ The choros of "The Clouds,"

²³⁵ I know not how far this character of the choros, all the properties of which have by no means been exhausted by the preceding observations, will justify the expression of *principium honestatis*, by which its essential characteristic has been represented in the above-mentioned Treatise "de Aristophaneī ingenii principio," p. 45 and 49, however correctly the historical spirit of Aristophanes may have been comprehended by the author. If we take this expression merely to

belongs to the first described species, and its construction points at once to an ironical purpose. For their clothing belongs to that region of vapour and brilliancy, in which sophists, rhetoricians, bad poets, empty chatterers, and all kinds of mystifiers and idlers are at home ;²³⁶ and as clouds can assume what shape they will, whenever they espy any of these foolish creatures, they mock them in corresponding forms (v. 348, sq.). But the choros embraces also a nobler and immortal purpose, (v. 288, sq.) : and this it is, which makes them so prominent and effective in the story, whilst they are mistaken by the teacher of sophistry as well as by Strepsiades, who, thanks to their disguise, are only thinking of goddesses of vapour, and, therefore, receive from them no other manifestation of their nature. Immediately on their entrance they announce their higher æthelial nature by songs, which are amongst the most beautiful of the muse of Aristophanes, and as they overlook the land of Attica (v. 299, sq.) from the heights they have left (v. 279, sq. 323), in like manner they clearly see through the evils which beset the state and its citizens, as well as their remedy ; they display their own superiority above all the principles put into action by the

imply good-nature, honesty, and uprightness, it presents to us a very partial view of the character of the choros ; and the question arises, how the element of irony in the most perfect of such choruses is reconcileable with it ? If it is to express the direct conception of positive data, as of that which is right, this is in part true ; but it is not invariably applicable to those comedies of Aristophanes, in which the choros appears subordinate to the superior just views of another character. This is clearly felt in the explanation of "The Birds" and of its choros given in the *dissertation* ; but in consequence of a partial application of the rule, the more easy solution of the difficulty seems to have escaped notice.

²³⁶ Nub. 316 sq. 331 sq. Vesp. 324 sq. Av. 818 sq. 1383 sq. and the commentators on all these passages.

story, they try to turn again to what is good the deviations from the common weal, and to improve the public by the sufferings of its representative. We cannot, therefore, fail to recognize in the essential properties of the choros the full consciousness of the original and ideal form of life (v. 1024 sq.), which heretofore prevailed in the city of Pallas (v. 299), and which they prize so highly. These exalted views we might perhaps have wished to have seen kept up in a continued stream of irony to the conclusion of the story: and this would have exactly corresponded to the historical view, which is evident in the play. For at the close of the dispute between the λόγ. δίκ. and ἄδικ. and in the retrospect full of enthusiasm, which the choros make after the speech of the former (v. 1024, sq.), upon the discipline and education of bygone times, they express themselves in no dubious terms, as giving these up for lost. Such a conclusion of the whole, as we have hinted at, and an appropriate resumption by the choros of their earnest and high moral tone, would have been in perfect accordance with this view; and by directing their severest censures upon the false and distorted world, as represented upon the stage, they would have thrown back upon the real world, with more effect, the conviction of the portrait of its own follies.

I am moreover convinced,²³⁷ that the torch with which the school of subtlety is set on fire, and the cry *λοῦ, λοῦ* of the disciple at the close of the piece (v. 1493), are not to be considered as liable to the censure cast upon such expressions in the early part of the parabasis (v. 543), any more than the similar cries, which occur also in other passages

²³⁷ Compare Esser de primâ et altera Nubium Arist. editione, p. 49 sq.

of "The Clouds" (v. 1170, 1321), the play itself beginning with *ioû*, or than the torches which are brought upon the stage in other dramas of Aristophanes, as quoted in the essay just cited p. 51, and to which may be added, v. 1361, sq. of "The Wasps." A similar example is furnished by the blame, which in v. 797, sq. of "The Plutos," is cast upon the practice of throwing from the stage figs and pastry among the spectators, by which it cannot be supposed that Aristophanes meant to hold himself up to ridicule, when in v. 960, sq. of "The Peace," he makes Trygaios throw amongst the spectators his sacrificial barley meal. This last is not merely for fun and pleasantry, but a double sense is clearly pointed out in v. 963 sq. : for, besides the joke contained in the word *κρῖς*, there is an evident allusion to the universal participation in the blessings of peace. The censure in question is evidently intended for other comic writers, who availed themselves of every opportunity to introduce eatables on the stage in order to amuse and gain favour with the spectators, by throwing them amongst them, without combining such action, as Aristophanes did, with any further object. This is, however, not the case with the throwing and scattering about of walnuts mentioned in v. 58 of "The Wasps," which Voss, in his remarks on the above quoted passage in the *Plutos*, considers equally to be a raillery on other comic poets. For here Xanthias enumerates other things also which had already appeared in some earlier pieces of Aristophanes; and amongst these, for example, the introduction of the Megarean, with two sucking pigs as his daughters, and that of Euripides in "The Acharnians," and Kleon in "The Knights." Hence too it is probable that the mention also of Hercules as

cheated of his feast, and the throwing about of the walnuts in the two lost pieces of Aristophanes, which preceded "The Wasps,"²³⁸ should neither of them be looked upon in the light of ordinary pleasantries; and the poet, far from casting any satirical reflection on his own performances, merely puts into Xanthias's mouth an assurance to the spectators, that they were to expect in that play nothing of the kind he describes, but a story of refined sense and deep design. But the passage in the parabasis in "The Clouds" is, like that in "The Plutos," exclusively directed against other poets, who introduced, out of the proper place, and crudely, without rhyme or reason, practical jokes of this description; whilst Aristophanes used them only when they helped on the action of the story,²³⁹ and were neither devoid of wit nor meaning.²⁴⁰

Nor can we refuse, by the bye, our assent to the main proposition in p. 7 and 8 of the essay above alluded to, that Aristophanes did indeed begin a second edition of "The Clouds," but that he never completed it, and with the exception of some single passages, only carried it on to the first part of the parabasis. This is inferred by some from the chronological contradiction, which appears between that portion of the parabasis and the ἐπιρρήματα, in reference to Kleon, v. 549 sq. compared with 580 sq., as well as from the mention of the Marikas of Eupolis in the former (v. 553), and from the presumed contradiction between this and the conclusion of the

²³⁸ In the Scholia on Vesp. 60, we ought to read, ἐν τοῖς πρὸ (for πρὸς) τούτου διδιδασκόμενοις δράμασιν.

²³⁹ *Εν καιρῷ* Ran. 358, where the poet solemnly excludes from his choroi all who took any pleasure in such empty foolery.

²⁴⁰ Μετὰ λόγον. Schol. ad Nub. 543.

piece.²⁴¹ But we need not on this account adopt also the conclusion, that the whole parabasis with the *ἐπιῤῥήμα* and the *ἀντεπιῤῥήμα* must have been composed after the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad, when the Marikas was exhibited. For the argument, which in page 34 is adduced in support of this position, that the parabasis, with the *ἐπιῤῥήμα* and *ἀντεπιῤῥήμα*, form one whole, is no necessary proof that Aristophanes might not have recomposed one single part of them, and have left the rest in their original state. This he might have done with the purpose which is very justly noticed in p. 33 of the dissertation, namely, to leave the story, except in single passages, unchanged: and this purpose was so much the more ironically expressed, if simply in the first part of the parabasis, and with an affected production of a second edition of the play, he thereby blamed the bad reception of the first, and at the same time left the other parts of it, as well as the whole conduct of the piece, the whole therefore essentially, the same as when it was first exhibited. He thus yielded nothing in his complaints, and he at once replaced the whole piece with that addition, and sent it forth again in search of intelligence and taste amongst his auditors. What was enigmatical in the contrast which arose out of this management only excited and stimulated attention, and was more worthy the ironical poet, than if he had distinctly avowed that his object was to grant to the public and the judges of his art a second and better judgment upon a play, in which they had misunderstood

²⁴¹ Kleon died before the exhibition of the second "Clouds," and he is spoken of as dead in the Marikas of Eupolis. See the Scholia on the above quoted passages. *Tr.*

his meaning,²⁴² and which, probably, they had failed to comprehend in the whole extent of his allusions. If too Aristophanes had recomposed the whole parabasis in all its parts in the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad, he would scarcely have put the first part of it referring to Kleon, in contradiction, as is above-observed, with the ἐπίρρημα, though this is sufficiently explained by the assumption, that the former part of it only was changed. Besides, the ἐπίρρημα, ἀντεπίρρημα, and μετεπίρρημα (v. 1115 sq.), are so suited to the persons of the choros, and to their nature as clouds, that even on this account they could not but have formed a part of the first edition of the play of that name.

The whole history of the Athenian republic since the time of Perikles proves that Aristophanes, if we consider him in an historical point of view, was fully justified in engaging in this contest against the principle so warmly assailed by him, in "The Clouds," and wherever else it was in his power. The internal rottenness and corruption of the state were decided, by the democratical populace ever fluctuating according to the humour and arbitrary will of the moment, by the demagogues who despotically and absurdly led it towards their own selfish views, and by the workings of a sophistical rhetoric enlisted into their service. The spirit and object on which this principle was based, and for which it had misused the Demos, showed themselves clearly and in broad daylight, in those forms of oligarchy which succeeded the democracy, first under the brief rule of the four hundred, and afterwards under the tyranny of the thirty. And though, when the re-action of the democracy, which broke out after the expulsion of the

²⁴² Vesp. 1044 sq.

thirty, was directed against Sokrates, as the presumed source of that principle which had given birth to Alkibiades, Theramenes and Kritias, it cannot be denied that this was in part the offspring of the opinion respecting that philosopher formed by a great proportion of the people, to which "The Clouds" of Aristophanes may have contributed its share; and though we cannot fail to perceive a great resemblance between the political views which prevail throughout "The Clouds," and those which were brought forward in the prosecution of Sokrates: yet would it be as precipitate to argue on this account for an exact relation of cause and effect between the two, as to place in the same category the purpose and conduct of the comic poet, with the purpose and conduct of the accusers, particularly of Anytos, whom we can only look upon in the light of a democratic zealot²⁴³ goaded on by personal hatred. Sokrates was to all intents and purposes a victim of political principles warring against each other, and he was overpowered in their conflict. But he was not made to suffer²⁴⁴ (as has lately been represented) as the advocate and representative of a new principle of education, aiming at a more exalted developement, and the introduction of another æra after the dissolution of the existing relations, namely, of the ancient and noble national spirit of the Athenian people struggling for its life and its existence; but on the contrary, whilst living and working for that spirit, he fell the victim of those false tendencies, which were fatal to it, and which, as they are conceived in Plato's Apology,²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Luzac de Socrate cive p. 131 sq. Barthélemy's Travels of the younger Anacharsis.

²⁴⁴ See Henning's Principien der Ethik. p. 44, 45.

²⁴⁵ Apol. p. 103. Comp. Schol. in Plat. p. 330 & 331.

were symbolically combined in the persons of his accusers. And if it be said that the Athenians afterwards repented them of his death, and it be adduced in proof of it, "that they had already adopted the "very same principle, which they censured in Sokrates, as of foreign growth and as self-destructive," the revival of this better principle, which was not yet extinct, remarkable as it is in this instance, as well as in the repentance which the people felt immediately after the execution of the six commanders at the battle of Arginousai is, the more inconceivable, as the condemnation of Sokrates in the tribunal was by no means the result of the voice of the people, eagerly and universally directed against him, and taking a decided part with his accusers, but rather, and notoriously (according to the most credible testimonies)²⁴⁶ that of a majority of three voices

²⁴⁶ Plato Apolog. p. 128. Ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον θαυμάζω ἐκατέρων τῶν ψήφων τὸν γεγονότα ἀριθμὸν. οὐ γὰρ ὥμην ἔγωγε οὕτω παρ' ὀλίγων ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πολὺ. νῦν δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ τρεῖς μόναι μετέπεισον τῶν ψήφων, ἀποπεφύγῃ ἄν, &c. On the statement in Diog. Laert. II. 41, that there were 281 votes against Sokrates, I coincide with the views of my learned colleague, Professor Böckh. "As the "passage in Plato is clear, it does not appear to me very important what "notions we form on that in Diogenes Laertios, regarding the trial of "Sokrates, and the judgment of his contemporaries respecting it. It "is clear that this author's expression is of doubtful meaning, for he "speaks as if 281 was the difference between the votes for and against "Sokrates. If this notice of Diogenes be correct, we must conclude "from the two passages taken together, 1. Either (in conformity with "the Bibliot. der alten Literatur und Kunst, II. p. 10; Matthiä, Misc. "Philol. I. p. 252; and with Fischer on the Apology of Plato, § 25) "that 556 judges decided the question; for if from the 281 votes "three are reckoned on the other side, there then remains an equality "of 278 votes, by which Sokrates would have been acquitted: there "must consequently have been 275 judges who voted for him. 2. Or "the whole number was 557, and Sokrates had 276, and then if three "had been taken from the 281 he would have had a majority of 279

only; and Sokrates might easily have gained these over, perhaps even have drawn to his side more than four-fifths of the whole of the suffrages, and thereby have exposed his adversaries to the fine of a thousand drachmai, if he would but have departed from the purity and independence of his defence, and have

" against 278. Schömann, on the contrary (see Att. Process, s. 139),
 " makes the number 559; but this must be wrong.

" Now as it can scarcely be imagined that a court of 556 or 557
 " judges could have been seated, there are only two ways, in my
 " opinion, of explaining the circumstance.

" 1. As we find tribunals not only of 500, 1000, 1500, &c., that is,
 " simple, double, triple, and so on, 500 being the simple regular
 " number (i. e. an aliquot section of the judges), but also those of 200,
 " 400, 700, or what I consider as tantamount, 201, 401, 701, by
 " which this aliquot arrangement is broken, there is no reason why
 " we may not suppose also a tribunal of 600. But 556-557 is so
 " much below this last number, that if we assume that the tribunal
 " before which Sokrates was tried, properly consisted of 600 judges, the
 " number of absentees could not have been merely accidental. We may
 " therefore conceive the following solution of this difficulty. By the
 " usages of Rome a judge could neutralize his vote by the N. L.; but
 " we know of nothing of this kind in the Athenian jurisprudence. The
 " Athenian judge had only a black and a white pebble (pierced or
 " entire). But it is not probable that the judge was absolutely
 " obliged to vote for one side or the other; if he was allowed to with-
 " hold his suffrage, it must have been by not casting his vote into
 " the ἀμφοτέρῃς κύριος, urna valida, but he cast both the black and
 " the white pebbles into the ἀμφοτέρῃς ἄκυρος, as Petit conjectures,
 " and Schömann, § 723, thinks not improbable; and we must conse-
 " quently suppose, that in the affair of Sokrates about 40 judges
 " withheld their votes in this manner.

" 2. An ordinary Heliæa consists of 500 judges. This would be
 " admissible, if we could venture, in Diogenes Laertios, to write
 " πεντήκοντα instead of οὐδὲν ἑκατόντα. Sokrates would then have had
 " 251 votes against him and 246 or 245 for him; if then we take
 " three from 251 he would have had a majority of 248 against 248,
 " or 248 against 248, that is, an equality of votes. The whole num-
 " ber of judges would thus have been 496 or 497, and so few would
 " be wanting to the legal number, that this may have been accidental,
 " either because they came too late, and were not admitted after the
 " hour, or were detained by illness, &c. In no case could such a

had recourse to the ordinary means and forms of those who were tried for capital offences. Prodikos and Sokrates, who are brought together by Aristophanes in "The Clouds," shared a similar fate, for Prodikos also was reduced to drink poison as a corruptor of youth, but the Athenians did not repent them of *his* death.²⁴⁶

" judgment have been invalidated in consequence of the absence of a
 " few, as 251 was the absolute majority of 501. But yet the reading
 " of *ὀγδοήκοντα* in Diogenes must be of considerable antiquity, as it
 " is highly probable that upon this is founded the reading *τριάκοντα*
 " for *τρῆς*, which is found in many MSS. of Plato's *Apology*, and in
 " that of Clarke: but it does not therefore necessarily follow that
 " Diogenes, or the authority he followed, wrote *ὀγδοήκοντα*, though
 " it is clear that the author of the reading *τριάκοντα* must have been
 " thinking of a tribunal of 500 or 501 Heliasts, although even this
 " leads to no satisfactory result; for after subtracting 30 voices from
 " 281, 251 for conviction would still be the majority, and thus
 " Sokrates would not have been acquitted by this removal of 30
 " votes: and the reading *τριάκοντα* seems the less to deserve consi-
 " deration, although it were more suited to the context than it really
 " is. For if Sokrates had been condemned by 500 or 501 judges, with
 " a majority of 281 against 219, or 220, there would have been 60
 " more against him than for him, and Plato could not have expressed
 " himself as he has done; and however valuable may be Clarke's MS.
 " it can only be considered in the light of a copy, which is not
 " infallible."

²⁴⁶ Suidas voc. *Πρόδικος*. 'Εν 'Αθήναις κώνειον πινὼν ἀπέθανεν
 ὡς διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους.

[The annexed additions and corrections are appended to the Professor's Essay on the *Γῆρας*, which was published in 1827; but having only come into the translator's hands whilst the Essay on "The Clouds" was going through the press, they could not be incorporated in the text.]

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE ESSAY ON "THE CLOUDS."

Page 4, line 17. Compare also on this subject Mitchell in his preliminary discourse to the comedies of Aristophanes, p. cxxv. sq.

Page 5, line 17. With the caricature in Nubb. 835 sq. we ought to compare the very similar passage in the Plutos, v. 85, in speaking of Patrokleides :—

ὅς οὐκ ἐλούσατ' ἐξότου περ ἐγένετο.

But other individuals, besides Sokrates, wholly engrossed in the pursuit of their art or science, forgot the bath, and would only go to it under compulsion. E. g. the painter Nikias, and Archimedes, in Plutarch, *An seni sit ger. resp. c. 5.*

Page 6, line 18. Diogenes Laertios also, II. 5, 21, observes that Sokrates was frequently laughed at for his habits.

Page 7, line 9. The same writer, upon the authority of Idomeneus, expressly mentions Sokrates' rhetorical powers; so that although the law of the thirty, λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν, was directed against oratory generally, as friendly to democracy, the philosopher was especially affected by it. Compare also what Welcker has said in the sequel of his translation of "The Clouds," p. 207, upon the practical object of Sokrates' instructions. I must take blame to myself for not having, in the composition of my

essay, made use of the ingenious dissertation and remarks of this learned author.

Page 11, line 13. I would particularly direct the reader's attention to Professor Brandis' admirable researches into the fundamental principles of the Sokratic doctrine, which appeared in the first number of the Rheinsches Museum. I readily acknowledge myself convinced of the correctness of the modifications which he suggests upon some parts of my essay concerning this doctrine, and the sources whence it was derived; and especially upon what is said in page 102 upon Sokrates' idea of virtue.

Page 14, line 3. Plutarch, in the life of Nikias, c. 23, says that Sokrates was accused of being a free-thinker, as well as Anaxagoras and Protagoras.

Page 14, line 15. Welcker had preceded Wolf in pointing out the fact that Sokrates early occupied himself in speculations upon objects of natural science.

Page 16, line 17. Mitchell, in the discourse above quoted, p. L. sq. has some very good observations on the groundwork of the λόγος δίκαιος and ἄδικος in the system of the sophists, and he has developed at length the entire method and pernicious effects of the sophistical instruction, which I have hinted at only so far as was necessary for my purpose.

Page 17, line 15. Compare Aristotle. Rhet. II. 23, 29. Καὶ ὡς Κόνων Θρασύβουλον θρασύβουλον ἐκάλει, καὶ Πρόδικος Θρασύμαχον, “ αἰεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ,” καὶ Πῶλον, “ αἰεὶ σὸν πῶλος εἶ,” καὶ Δράκοντα τὸν νομοθέτην, “ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι, ἀλλὰ ἐράκοντος.” &c.

Page 18, line 9. Welcker suggests a very probable conjecture in reference to v. 99 of “ The Clouds;” namely, that the payment of a sack of meal made by

Strepsiaides for his son's education, was an allusion to the contributions of the friends and pupils of Sokrates towards the maintenance of their instructor.

Page 22, line 1. It should here have been observed, for a fuller explanation of the text, that when Aristophanes imputes to the Sokratic school, that it made a profit of cloaks, he alludes to the shabby attire of its master; which may account also for the question put by Ameipsias in the Konnos: (Tribon?)

Σώκρατες — — — πόθεν ἄν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο;
See Diogen. Laert. II. 5, 28.

Page 23, note 56. This should have contained also a reference to Hermann. ad Schol. Nub. 97, as the roguish humour of the unexpected introduction of οἰνοχόην ἔκλεψεν (ἀπροσδόκητον) can only be clearly understood in connection with the words Δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπίδειξιν.

Page 26, line 5 from the bottom. Here I ought especially to have noticed the view which Welcker (p. 191 sq.) has taken of the grounds upon which Sokrates has been introduced into "The Clouds." This view coincides with my own in so far as it regards, not mere personal individuality, but the principle, to which the play of "The Clouds" is opposed, and which Aristophanes, in common with the great mass of the Athenians, thought that Sokrates was mixed up with, partly from external resemblances, partly from false explanations and misunderstanding, and in part from a perception of the abuses of his method and of his doctrine, without entering into its real purpose and essence.

Page 32, line 6 from the bottom. Welcker, on v. 95, here adduces very appropriately the example of Demodokos out of The Theages of Plato, to which

that of Anytos himself may be added, on the authority of Xenophon's *Apology*, 30 sq.

Page 33, line 19. The same view of the influence of the sophistical oratory amongst the youth again occurs in the Roman dramatist Nævius, as quoted by Cicero de Senectute, c. 6: Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas respublicas ab adolescentulis labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas ac restitutas reperietis.

Cedo qui vestram rempublicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

Sic enim percontatur, ut est in Nævii ludo. Respondentur et alia et hæc imprimis:

Proventabant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli. We may conclude from the context, that he is speaking of Athens itself, and that Nævius had compiled his *Ludus* after some old Attic comedy.

Page 38, line 4 from the bottom. The idea of peculation contained in ἑσείων (Photius. Lex. voc. σείω) would have been better expressed by "I cheated," as Voss has translated it in v. 639 of "The Peace."

Page 47, line 2. I would here add, not indeed as certain, but as not improbable, that the Olympic victory of Alkibiades may have taken place during the games which were celebrated in the first year of the 90th Olympiad, when the alliance which was promoted by him between Athens, Argos and Elis, was still fresh, and which games were protected by the Athenian cavalry against the Lacedæmonians, who were excluded from them.

Page 48, line 11. A very ingenious and probable explanation of this anecdote, the drowning of Eupolis, may be seen in Meineke's *Quæst. scen.* I. p. 36, 37,

who suggests also, p. 18, the same date for the exhibition of the *Βάπται*, as is given in the essay, though upon other grounds, which are chronologically correct. Compare also for this piece, Lucas Dissert. Cratinus et Eupolis (Bown. 1826) p. 95 sq.

Page 50, line 17. With this also agrees Plutarch in Nic. 9: "Ἡδὲ ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύετο τηρκαῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγός. He is speaking of the period of time when the conflicts took place for Pylos and the island Sphakteria.

Page 55, line 19. Lamachos was not in truth very active in urging the continuance of the war; but nevertheless, as we may conclude from Thukydides, VI. 46, 49, 50, he entertained the same opinions with Alkibiades respecting it. We are, therefore, the more founded in referring to him the passages in "The Peace," in v. 295 and 450.

Page 56, line 7. Instead of "*long*" I would say "since their first expeditions to the island." Thucyd. III. 86, and Hudson upon that passage; also IV. 65. Compare, likewise, Göller de Situ Syracusarum, p. 32 sq. and the passages there cited.

Page 61, line 6. Compare Meineke, Quæst. scen. p. 34 and 36.

Page 65, line 2 from the bottom. Instead of "Eupolis" it would be more accurate to say "Attic Poets," which is the expression of Plutarch in Peric. 3. The same author especially quotes also (c. 13) a passage of Kratinos, in which Perikles is called *σχινοκέφαλος*, in consequence of the prominence or protuberances of his cranium.

Page 66, line 2 from the bottom. Meineke, l. c. p. 49, agrees with this explanation of the passage in Valerius Maximus, as well as with the observation in page 67 on the argument of the Oidipous at

Kolonos. Compare also upon the former, Frommel ad Schol. Aristid. p. 176.

Page 66, note 1. *κινούμενα*, in the fragment, has a double sense, which is also hinted at in page 68, line 24. It means restless, riotous and dissolute youths. In the first view, compare Thucyd. VI. 36. Οἵπερ ἀεὶ τὰδε κινούσι. VIII. 48. Καὶ ἐκινήθη πρότερον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦτο. 71. Καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐνέδοθεν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ἐκίνησαν. Etymol. magn. Ἐγκινούμενος, Βαβυλωνίοις Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀνὴρ τις ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐγκινούμενος. — ῥητορική· ταραττων καὶ ἐμποδίζων.

Valckenaer's explanation of the third verse of the fragment (*qui virtutes imperatorias non in mente haberent, sed in pedum malleolis repositas*) can scarcely be called more correct than that which I have given, p. 68, l. 24. The line probably alludes to the *θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων ἀλουργῶν ἐλκομένων ἐὶ ἀγορᾶς* (Plutarch. Alcib. 16. Comp. c. 1, Plut. Alcib. 1, 18. Wytttenbach ad Plut. de Seræ Num. Vind. p. 38), or the long trailing robes worn by Alkibiades.

Page 67, line 20. It is clear, from Platonios Περὶ ἐιαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν, see page xi. in Kuster's Aristophanes, and which notice I had overlooked, that this interrogation of the statesman brought from the shades below, respecting the affairs of the republic, was really introduced in the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis.

Page 70, line 2. This was the *third time* that Alkibiades had been appointed commander-in-chief—the first was when he led the expedition into the Peloponnesos, Ol. 90-1 (Thucyd. V. 52), the second time was to Argos (Thuc. V. 84. Diodor. XII. 81), Ol. 90-4.

Page 71, line 16. The sense, which we have here

given to *παρήγαγε*, is implied also in the Scholion to Sophocl. Ajax, 746, ἐκ παρουμίας ὁ στίχος παρῆκται, in which the codex Laurent. reads more correctly εἰς παρουμίαν, and Elmsley too would read παράγει for παραγράφει in the Scholion on 1012 of "The Peace," which quotes a passage, v. 96, from the Medeia of Euripides: as indeed, in speaking of the introduction of dramatic personages upon the stage, παράγειν is synonymous with εἰσάγειν. Thus in the Scholion on Nicandros, Theriac. 295, we have παράγει τινὰ ἐρῶντα αὐτῆς, and in that on the first line of "The Frogs," we read Ὁ Ξανθίας δὲ ἐπὶ ὄνου παράγεται καθεζόμενος, etc.

Page 71, line 19. Frommel, l. c. p. 174, b, thus expresses his conjecture, that either Aischylos borrowed this line from Eupolis, or Eupolis from the other: Potuit fieri, ut quæ alter præoccupasset, alter repeteret.

Page 71, line 7 from the bottom. According to Clemens, Alex. Strom. VI. 267, Aristophanes had also borrowed in the first Thesmophoriazousai several lines from the Ἐπιπράμεινοι of Kratinos. Compare Casaubon ad Athen. IV. p. 171, b. For examples of passages, introduced into his own comedies by Aristophanes from those of Eupolis, see Meineke, l. c. p. 40, and Lucas, l. c. p. 91.

Page 73, line 20. For "Paris" read "Helen."

Page 74, line 14. This judgment of Aristophanes agrees very well with that of Thukydides (VI. 15) on the unjust conduct of the state towards Alkibiades, when he was first coming forward, as well as with the view which Alkibiades took of his own situation (c. 16), when having raised his country to the highest pitch of lustre and power, he wished to be the most

illustrious and the most powerful man in it—an ambition in truth not unnatural in a democratical republic.

Page 75, line 27. Mitchell, in the discourse above quoted, p. cxxxvii. says, “What are we to conclude from all this? The fair inference seems to be, that “the Clouds was not written for the purpose of exposing Sokrates, but that Sokrates was selected “(and for reasons previously mentioned) for the “purpose of giving more effect to the Clouds, as an “ingenious satire against the sophists, and the pernicious system of public education at Athens.” I merely quote this passage without entering into a detailed criticism upon its coincidence with, or its difference from, my own explanation: these will speak for themselves.

Page 71, line 9. Compare Welcker passim and page 214.

Page 81, line 13. Compare Plutarch. in Septem Sapientum conviv. p. 154.

Page 81, line 1 from the bottom. Jacobs, in his Additam. animadv. in Athenæum, p. 336, cites several passages respecting this Damon.

Page 84, note 184. To this may be added Thucyd. VIII. 89, 91 sq. Ruhnken diss. de Antiphonte in opusc. p. 239.

Page 86, line 4. The fragment in Julius Pollux, II. 6, probably belonged also to the Τριφάλης.

Ἦτις κύουσ’ ἐφάνη κύος ποσσυτονί.

It applies very well to the mother of Triphales—Alkibiades.

Varro probably borrowed from the same play the title of his Essay called Triphalus (for which, however, we ought to read Triphallus or Triphales) περὶ

ἀρρενότητος. Nonius Marcellus in auct. lat. ling. Gothofredi, p. 558 voc. Longario. cf. Henr. Stephanus in frag. vet. poet. lat. p. 356.

Page 87, line 2 from the bottom. Triphales' mother calling out for his apprehension, may refer to the Athenian army and fleet then assembled at Samos, which on this occasion had it in their power to arrest Alkibiades, who was amongst them, whereas on the former occasion he had escaped from the Salaminia.

Page 87, note 195. Schol. Thucyd. ad VI. 27. Ἰστέον ὅτι Πανσανίας ἐν τῇ διαπεπονημένῃ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγῇ τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς περικοπῆναι φησὶ, καὶ τοῦτο δρᾶσαντας Ἑρμοκοπίδας καλεῖσθαι.

Page 88, line 3. For "recall" read "return." For this took place in Ol. 93-1, towards the end of the year. Schneider ad Xenoph. Hellen. I. 4, 12. His *recall* was in Ol. 91-1. Thucyd. VIII. 97.

Page 94, line 10. Why Chairephon is called *νυκτερίς* in Av. 1296 and 1564, is clear from a fragment of Aristophon in Athenaios, VI. p. 238, d, where some one says he was καθεύδειν μηδὲ μικρὸν νυκτερίς. Reisig, in his præf. ad Nub. p. xxvi. aptly points out the comic solecism in Χαιρεφῶν ἢ νυκτερίς.

Page 99, line 4. From a review of every thing which has been handed down to us respecting the Daimonion of Sokrates, and its manifestations, we cannot understand by it any thing purely subjective, but on the contrary the operation of the objective in the inward man, that is, the conscience, or the immediate faculty of that conscience and truth; for this was directly opposed to his own subjective thought and will, consequently came upon him as some higher motive, and it then became his subject; in which point of view he called it the divine, the

divinity, *δαμόριον*. This is all that I have meant by the expression, *the inward voice*, whence we must not be surprized if Sokrates perceived it in cases where to most people it is silent; as during his whole life he had no more important, or more interesting pursuit, than tacitly to observe it, and to follow it. This faculty was also the soul (compare Brandis), and the objective perception, from which it proceeds, was the aim and end of all his scientific energies, which he was incessantly striving by his dialectic powers to bring to a full and perfect consciousness: whereas the sophists, on the contrary, were for ever launching out in subjective ideas, and visionary subtleties. If then according to these principles he considered virtue as the universal consciousness of the real essence of man, and consequently of his destination, and if he then considered it also as the knowledge of what tended to arrive at that destination, and to a mode of life conformable to it (Xenoph. Mem. III. 9, 14, 15), the application which he made of it to every practical purpose is equally intelligible with the notions which so frequently occur in Xenophon, confounding this special and subordinate ἀρετή with that which is universal, and pre-eminent above all.

If in later times Sokrates has been again likened to the sophists, if he has been denominated the greatest sophist of them all, this is to be attributed, according to what has hitherto been written upon the subject (see Henning, Princ. d. Ethik, p. 47. J. G. Musmann, diss. de Idealismo, Berl. 1826, p. 22), as also in Aristophanes, to his *formal* resemblance to them. But the real difference between them, as is observed also in the writings I have referred to, is far too essential for such likeness and denomination

to be justified by any similarity of forms, whether philosophically or historically developed, removed, as it must be, by a very great interval from a real resemblance; this too in a case where, if all truth of individual life has not been quite lost sight of, in a composition grounded upon general principles, a thorough and complete examination of the concrete or individual man is absolutely necessary, in order to exhibit distinctly the relation which he bears to the ideal: with all this we are far from having arrived at an explicit conclusion in regard to the true character of the dramatic Sokrates.

Page 102, line 6. To this it is necessary to add, that Sokrates, who so earnestly and persuasively urged his son Lamprokles to show a pliant disposition, and to pay obedience to his mother, could not, in his real intrinsic character, be the man in whose school Aristophanes represents Pheidippides to have been educated, who beats his father, defends what he has done as right and proper, and even maintains it to be his duty to beat his mother.

Page 112, note 236. See also Pac. 830, and the Scholia upon the passage.

Page 115, line 3. Compare also Welcker, s. 223 sq.

Page 117, line 28. Compare Thucyd. VIII. 89. In these oligarchical constitutions it was precisely this younger race of Demagogues, educated in the principles of sophistry, who were the ruling party in the state; these were the *καλοὶ καγαθοὶ* and *βέλτιστοι*, so frequently mentioned by Xenophon in the *Hellenica*, that is, the cultivated class, the optimates.

Page 118, line 15. If the elder Cato, according to Plutarch Cato maj. 23, adopted the opinion respecting Sokrates, which his accusers turned to such account, and if such opinion fell in with the view he

took, as a sturdy old Roman, of the danger to Rome from the education, and particularly from the philosophy, of Greece, this is by no means a proof of its justice; but it is rather a similar instance of an erroneous notion. Jacobs observes, that Cato's judgment was probably influenced by the party opposed to Plato's philosophy, which was raking together every thing that was bandied about respecting Sokrates.

SÜVERN

ON THE

Γῆρας

OF

ARISTOPHANES.

PREFACE.

FOR a full understanding of Aristophanes, it is essential to point out the especial object of each of his works, although we may not be able thoroughly to understand them all: we may, however, hope to approximate to their import, as far as they are severally interwoven with the life and history of the state and people of Athens, with as much precision as the character of the poet generally, and the vestiges already traced, and those which are still to be discovered, will admit of. For we can only have a lively feeling of the meaning of single allusions, when it is seen how far these spring out of the main tendency of the whole piece, and connect themselves with it, or come forth as luxuriant offsets, on trifling occasions, or from the impulse of mere humour.

This is what I have endeavoured to arrive at in my treatise on "The Clouds," and from the judgments of the learned, which have reached me, I am willing to hope that the attempt has not been unsuccessful. Wishing, however, to give to it some corrections, and supplementary observations,* I avail myself of

* These corrections, &c. are now affixed to the preceding translation of the Essay on "The Clouds." If the translator had been aware of them sooner, some of them might have been introduced into the text. *Tr.*

the opportunity of publishing them along with this essay on the *Γῆρας*, in which I have attempted to make out the contents, connection and object of one of the lost comedies of our poet; and I give it, with few exceptions, in the shape in which it was delivered in the historico-philological class of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

It is the first attempt of the kind, as far as I know, which has been made in the department of the old comedy. Much of it is of course hypothetical. In similar enquiries this cannot be avoided; nor should this be any ground for rejecting such undertakings; for in the old comedy we have much more definite assistance from the records of history, and conjecture therefore rests upon surer grounds than in the old tragedy, where frequently a crowd of very different mythical traditions, and the unshackled freedom of the poets, afford fewer and more uncertain data; whilst in the former we have only to ascertain whether the hints which occur in the fragments of the piece we treat of, and in the historical records, are well applied and combined, and whether our conclusions are just, and coincide with the manner and feeling of the poet on other occasions. But no attempt of this kind can be conclusive; as although there may be nothing to object to the meanings proposed, yet new discoveries regarding the text, or the number of fragments, or historical notices in scholiasts, lexicographers, grammarians, or in other writers, which cannot be too closely examined, will be continually furnishing more definite and more

complete views of the work in hand. The historical review of the poets of the old comedy, and of the works ascribed to them, which has been so well begun by Herr Meineke in his *Quæstiones Scenicæ*, will hereafter be of great assistance to our labours in this department, even in reference to the remains of other old comic writers. In regard to the present attempt, I do not believe I have been seduced into a line of reasoning too exclusive, by which reconstructions of lost works of the dramatic art might easily become mere castles in the air. How far it has succeeded I leave to the learned to decide.

Berlin, Jan. 7th, 1827.

SÜVERN

ON THE Γῆρας OF ARISTOPHANES.

IF we call to mind the political tendency which prevails throughout the works of Aristophanes, and the pictures, in which he is wont to clothe his political conceptions, we may hope to form to ourselves more correct notions of the general import at least, of those of his comedies of this description, which are only preserved to us in fragments. That which bore the name of Γῆρας may be cited as an example.

The principal passage illustrative of the contents of this piece is to be found in Athenaios III., p. 109, f. which is thus read by Schweighäuser. Κ ρ ι ε α ν ί τ η ν : Τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γῆρα· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν, διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποδαλόντων.

A. Τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ προᾶγμα; B. Θεομοῦς, ὃ τέκνον—

A. Ἀλλ' ἡ παραφρονεῖς; B. Κριβανίτας, ὃ τέκνον
Λευκοῦς πάνυ————

I shall return to the fragment further on. But Casaubon observes on the passage: *Senii argumentum declarant quæ supersunt fragmenta. De senectutis incommodis egisse comicum constat ex petitis inde versibus, qui apud Pollucem iv. c. 25. Postea inducebantur senes quidam recocti ac priori ætati restituti,*

qui fortuna sua abutentes ferebant cuncta passim atque agebant.

Now, in the first place, this recocing of the old men seems to be somewhat hastily introduced here by Casaubon, and after him by Brunck, who also speaks of a *recoctus senex* in his "Addenda et emendenda in fragmentis," p. 161, inasmuch as this is not necessarily implied by the words in Athenaios, ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλόντων, nor do the fragments of the play contain any thing from which a rejuvenescence of the old men by means of recocing may be inferred.

That old men may, from an overflow of spirits and pleasure, feel themselves again joyous, and as it were with renovated youth, as if they had shaken off their old age, is a general and common notion, and not unnoticed by Aristophanes. Thus in "the Lysistrata," v. 667, ed. Dindorf, the choros of old men offer to engage in conflict with the women :—

Νῦν δεῖ

νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κίναπτερωσαι

πᾶν το σῶμα κάποσεῖσα—

σῆσαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.

And in "the Frogs," v. 355, the choros of Μύσται sing :—

Γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων,

ἀποσεῖονται δὲ λύπας

χρονίους τ' ἐτῶν παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτούς.

But in the Γῆρας this idea was certainly extended to the symbolical representation of restoration of youth, by some definite process ; for, as may be seen from the passage in Athenaios, the old men, after their metamorphosis, became insolent and mischievous, and this conduct of theirs pointed to the principal

event on which the story turned. It is nearly the same in "the Knights," where the Demos is represented as purified from his old filth, and made young again both in body and mind by Agorakritos through the process of boiling, (1321—1336); a picture to which Aristophanes might have been led by the mythical tales, of Iason and Aison being restored to youth by Medeia's magical process of recoction, and of the Nurses of Dionysos, whom, with their husbands, the god had renewed in the same manner: this last story was also mentioned in the *Διονύσου Τροφοὶ* of Aischylos.¹ But it is highly improbable that a poet who had such a rich fund of invention, and who was ever on the watch to amuse and instruct the people with a constant succession of new and figurative characteristics, should have clothed the same idea in the same symbolical representation twice over, and this in two plays, which were perhaps brought upon the stage within a short interval of one another. The expression too in Athenaios, *ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλόντων* points to another picture, derived, as Schweighäuser has already observed, from the skin of the serpent, whose slough when cast off is called *Γῆρας*.² Aristophanes frequently uses this word in the same metaphorical sense. Thus, amongst other places, we see in v. 336 of "the Peace," *τὸ γῆρας ἐκδὺς*, on which the Scholiast remarks, *ἡ μεταφορά ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφείων*: and in "the Lysistrata," v. 364, *Εἰ μὴ σιωπήσει, ζέων σου 'κοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας*, where *γῆρας* means "old hide." It seems, therefore, that we ought to imagine to ourselves in the drama of

¹ Schol. ad Equit. 1321. Argum. in Eurip. Medeam, ibiq. Elmsley.

² Aristot. Hist. Anim. VIII. 23, and Scaliger upon the passage. Aelian. Hist. Anim. IX. 16. Erotian Lex. Hippocrat. *Λεβήριδες ὑμενῶδη ἀποσύρματα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὀφείων γῆρας, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιάρῳ.*

this name rather a rejuvenescence of the old men by the shedding of their old wrinkled skin, perhaps by means of some kind of ointment, than by recoc-tion, as in "the Knights."

Moreover, if, according to Casaubon's explanation, "*de senectutis incommodis egisse comicum*," &c. we are to conceive the piece merely as a portraying of the troubles and inconveniences of old age, and of the subsequent rejuvenescence of the old men, without any further meaning, we give to it entirely the character of the later comedy, consequently not at all corresponding to that of the Aristophanic comedy. Doubtless it was his aim to exhibit in a very strong light many of the infirmities of old age, before it could be renovated. Nor can there be much uncertainty with respect to the meaning of all this, if we reflect on that of the treatment of the old (v. 41), stupid (*μεμακκοακότος*. *Equit.* 62. 396.), and hard-of-hearing (v. 63.) Demos in "the Knights." His recocting has thus the import which is specially implied by it, and which is literally explained in the piece, namely, the restoration of the Athenian people, wasted and degraded as it was under the conduct of a selfish demagogue, to its pristine strength, dignity, and beauty. It has a similar meaning, when, in "the Peace," the old Trygaios, who, like Dikaiopolis in "the Acharnians," represents the agricultural portion of the people thirsting after and longing for peace, fetches down Eirene from Olympus for the whole of Hellas, and bringing with her Opōra for his own share, is lauded by the choros as an object of envy, (v. 860, sq.) with renovated youth as a bridegroom, and like the Demos in "the Knights," (v. 1331, sq.) resplendent with odoriferous myrrh.³

³ 'Ειρήνη 860.

XOP. ζηλωτὸς ἔσει, γέρον.

It is therefore in the highest degree probable, that the *Γῆρας* also had a symbolical import, in reference both to the Athenian people, and to the state in which they then stood. It is clear also from the passage in *Athenaios*, that several old men bore a part in it. These probably composed the *choros*, as they did in "the *Acharnians*," and in "the *Wasps*," whilst some of them, in whom the complaints of age were most prominent, played special parts, and one of them in particular, as *Philokleon* in "the *Wasps*," was the chief personage of the piece; their infirmities and weaknesses denoted the infirmities and weakness of the Athenian people, as the restoration of their youth denoted the people's cure and renovation. There was thus more or less of a resemblance between the *Γῆρας* and "the *Knights*," only that in the latter the redemption of the people from a disgraceful state of pupillage is the main purport of the piece, and the restoration of their youth produced by a noble and well-intentioned administrator is the result of it, whereas in the *Γῆρας* the poet has made the introduction of this renovation, after a state of extreme sickness and debility, the principal object of the story.

From this point of view we may be farther enabled to give a correct explanation of other fragments of the play. Before their youth could be thus restored, it was absolutely necessary, as we conclude also from the title of the drama, that the representation of the

αὐθις νέος ὦν πάλιν,
μύριον κατάλειπτος.

Ἰππείης. 1331.

ΑΓΟΡΑΚΡΙΤΟΣ.

ὅδ' ἐκείνους ὄραν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρὸς,
οὐ χοιρινῶν ὄζων, ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν, σμύρνην κατάλειπτος. *Tr.*

hardships of old age, as borne by these greybeards, and of the conflict to which they are thereby exposed, should furnish the chief events of the piece; and there is certainly no want of striking characteristic traits and caricatures in this sense.

Of this kind is the fragment in Julius Pollux, iv, 30.

Ὁφθαλμιάσας πέρυσιν εἴτ' ἔσχον κακῶς·
Ἐπειθ' ὑπαλειφόμενος παρ' ἱατροῦ——

On which Jungermann and Kulm have published some erroneous notions⁴ respecting the position of the word εἴτα. In this passage, one of the old men relates, that in the preceding year he had suffered very much in his eyes, had been very ill in consequence of it, and had been anointed with some ointment for the disorder by a physician: but whether he had derived any benefit for some short period, or no, is entirely a matter of conjecture. One might be tempted to suppose the latter, as in “the Plutos.” (v. 407), where they are talking of the treatment requisite for curing the blind god, the physicians are put out of the question, their art being completely extinct, if we could admit, contrary to all probability, that these two plays, the Γῆρας and “the Plutos,” were exhibited one soon after the other, and if the uncomfortable state in which the old gentleman had found himself, as described, during his illness, did not lead us to suppose the contrary as the effect of the eye ointment. But bad, bleary, and gummy eyes bear very frequently the allegorical or accessory sense of dulness and shortsightedness, as well as of

⁴ It is superfluous to refer to Koene on Gregor. Corinth. de dial. p. 145. Schaefer.

an obtuse intellect, as in the "Plutos (v. 581), where Penia thus paints her opponents: Ἄλλ' ὃ Κρονικαῖς λήμιας ὅντως λημιῶντες τὰς φρένας αἴψω. We have also only to recall to our minds the Ἀρχέδημος ὁ γλάων in Ran. 558, the Νεοκλείδης ὁ γλάων in Eccles. 254 and 398, (on which passages we may compare the Scholia,) and the Crispinus lippus of Horace, Sat. 1. 1. 120, which last quotation, as Horace applies to him also the predicate *ineptus*, Sat. 1. 3. 139, may very well be put in connection with the other examples, notwithstanding Bentley's objections, and the ingenious explanation which Reisig (Conject. 1. p. 315.) gives of his conjecture. When then in "the Knights" the sausage-seller hands over to the aged Demos a hare's tail to wipe his diminutive eyes with, that is, as the Scholiast likewise observes, to cleanse them from the λημαί, the present is itself a piece of arch roguery, and is closely connected with the meaning of the story of the play. We have therefore good reason to understand also by the disorder in the eye, which the old man in the Γῆρας says that he had been suffering under the year before, a political ophthalmia, namely, the short-sightedness and purblind state of the people; and the physician, by whom the old gentleman allowed himself to be anointed, is no other than, as Agorakritos is in the "Knights," the intelligent and benevolent counsellor, who opened the people's eyes, and explained to them their real interests. For as the

* From the words εἰ μὴ λημᾶς κολοκύντας, Nubb. 326, which are not to be taken figuratively, we may correct the Scholion on Aristides Panathenæus in the Additamenta Parisina, p. 344: Ἀριστοφάνει, λημιαῖς κολοκύντας, where Frommel would read λήμιας κολοκύντας, but the passage quoted from the "Clouds" is evidently the one referred to.

image of health and sickness is very commonly and metaphorically used for the good or ill condition of a state, we see also frequently in the ancient writers, that the statesman who administered it properly, and gave it good advice, was compared to a physician. In this sense Nikias in Thukydides vi. 14 concludes his speech against the Sicilian expedition: *Τῆς δὲ πόλεως βουλευσαμένης ἰατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τουτ' εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ωφελήσῃ ὥς πλεῖστα ἢ ἔκων εἶναι μηδὲν βλάβῃ.* And in the first Alkibiades, § 8, it is said generally of the Athenians; *Ἄλλ' ἴάν τε πένης ἔαν τε πλούσιος ἢ ὁ παραινῶν οὐδὲν χιοίσει Αθηναίοις, ὅταν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλεύωνται πῶς ἂν ὑγιαίνοιεν, ἀλλὰ ζητήσουσιν ἰατρὸν εἶναι τὸν σύμβουλον.* And in the life of Perikles, by Plutarch, c. 15, it is observed of that statesman, that he had managed the people *μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἰατρὸν περικίλῳ νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ, κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν ἡδονὰς εὐλαβεῖς κατὰ καιρὸν δὲ διηγμοὺς καὶ φάρμακα προσφέροντα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ.*

There must also have appeared a leader of these infirm old men, (each of whom doubtless had his staff, the usual support of the aged,) or one who perhaps performed also the principal personage amongst them, a *ἡγεμῶν*, who, in the new comedy, was, according to Julius Pollux iv. 143, a standing character, as the suitable accompaniment of old age. This is proved by the fragment in Priscian, Instit. gram. xviii. 25, (Opp. vol. II. p. 226, ed. Krehl.), where we read: "*Attici ὀλίγας ἡμέρας pro ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. Aristophanes Γήρας· Σὺ δ' οὐχ' ἡγῇ μ' οὖν δὴ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.*" Similiter nos. The older editions give this fragment in the same words; they are therefore incorrectly ascribed by Schweighäuser, in Animadv. in Athenæum, T. II. p. 258. to a happy

conjecture of Brunck. The metrical faults however in the 2d and 4th feet, and the hiatus between the 3d and the 4th, show that it would be still any thing rather than a lucky restoration. Manuscripts of Priscian, as far as they have been examined, give little help. According to the "Index Locorum Græcorum apud Priscianum," which is annexed to "Varro de Linguâ Latinâ," p. 229, amongst the MSS. which have been re-collated by Spengel, that of Tegernsee, which has at the beginning ΣΥΔΟΥΣ, shows that οὐχ' is not in all of them; and that of Munich, in which the whole is as follows: ΣΥΔΟΥΧΗΓΗΜΟΥΗΔΗΟΛΙΓΑΣΗΜΕΡΑΣ, presents another variation, μοῦ ἥδη for μ' οὔν ἐν, which may be turned to advantage. As there is then only the short medial syllable in ὀλίγας to explain and support, if instead of ἐν we read εἰ, (which cannot, however, according to the purpose for which Priscian quotes the fragment, be the preposition,) we see in the final ν. of οὔν, and in the ἥδη of the Munich MS. the elements of νή, and we then get νή εἰ, which Meineke had already conjectured to be the true reading. In the 2d foot of the line the first short syllable is clearly wanting. If, then, we pass forward the first long syllable ἡγ from the first into the second place, the ου, which after the abovementioned change, remains of the οὔν, must combine with it, or must be entirely ejected from the verse, and no other place is left for the μ' than the vacant first place in the 2d foot, where it may be admitted, so as to read either οὐχὶ μ' or οὐκ ἐμ'. The last appears to be preferable. If therefore we grant that the first half of the line was originally written: Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐμ' ἡγοῦ, we see plainly, how ἐμ' could by similarity of letters be so confounded with the word immediately following, that in the form of ημ it slipped in between

the *ἦγ* and the *οὐ*, and with this admission, nothing more is required than to substitute ΕΜΗΓΟΥ for ΗΓΗΜΟΥ. But if we put the sentence into the form of a question, the *οὐκ* which is thus introduced must be separated from its verb, and it is too far removed from *ὀλίγας*, to be connected with it in the construction. This arrangement leads us to a division of the line into two speeches; and thus, as *νῆ Δί* can only be explained by the implying a question in *οὐκ*, the whole becomes perfectly intelligible. I would then read it thus:—

A. Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐμ' ἡγοῦ; B. Νῆ Δί ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

They must have been previously speaking of an event which had occurred some time before. “But thou,”—(the old gentleman goes on)—“wast thou not my conductor?” namely, then. And immediately the other, who is glad to be thus remembered, earnestly rejoins,—“Oh, yes, a few days ago—that is, I did lead thee.”⁶ The person, therefore, who is here conversing with the old man, is some one who had formerly been his conductor, but who had separated from him a short time previous to some circumstance mentioned by the old gentleman in the preceding

⁶ This explanation might be deemed sufficient. I will not, however, pass by the possibility, that another verb, with a very different sense, may be concealed in *ἦγ*. If the MSS. would give us another clue, the right reading might be:

Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔγημ' οὖν; B. Νῆ Δί ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

and there is much in its favour, as it is evidently a nearer approximation to the mutilated text. The fragment would then assume quite a different meaning, and must be placed amongst those relics of the play, which treat of marriage and love affairs. But nevertheless it would always be highly probable, that a leader of the old men would not be wanting in the piece.

lines. This circumstance was in all probability not very agreeable to the old man, as otherwise the person with whom he is talking would not have taken up the mention of it in so lively a manner, as one to which he attached such importance. If, then, we have rightly divined the whole of this passage, we must recognize in this personage a former leader of the old man, and one who was now again drawing near to him. But as to what we are to understand by such leader, the Demos in "the Knights" gives us an intelligible hint, in v. 1098, where, as he is taking leave of Kleon, he gives himself over to Agorakritos in these words :—

Καὶ νῦν ἔμαντὸν ἐπιτρέπω σοι τουτονὶ
Γερονταγωγῶν κἀναπαιδεύειν πάλιν.

The second of these lines, as the Scholiast observes, is imitated from Sophokles, in whose play of Peleus the female attendant on the old man said : ⁷

Πηλέα τὸν Αἰάκειον οἰκουρὸς μόνη
Γερονταγωγῶ κἀναπαιδεύω πάλιν.

The expression γερονταγωγῶ, which Sophokles applies in its literal sense, and with an allusion to παιδαγωγῶ, means, in "the Knights," with reference to *δημαγωγεῖν*, the care and fostering guidance of the people, who are represented in this piece as grown old, and in want of an honest leader, who would treat and fashion them not after the guise of Kleon. And in the *Γῆρας*, if there was such a personage as a leader of the old men, (and it is indifferent whether

⁷ Schol. ad Nubb. 1417. Clemen. Alex. Strom. VI. p. 748.

he was well or ill disposed towards them), he can certainly have had no other import or signification.

It is self evident that a further developement must have been given to the treatment of the abuses of the *δημαγωγία*, and the infantine non-age of the people whom it had annihilated. This is distinctly pointed out by the short fragment in Photios, (see Ph. lex. p. 256, ed. Cantabrig.) which is omitted by Brunck; *Μελιτία κάπρον· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρῃ λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐκράτης, ἐπεὶ εὐσὺς ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτον αὐτὸν ἔλεγον· ἢ ὅτι μυλῶνα (l. μυλῶνας) εἶχεν ἐν οἷς ἐτρέφοντο σῦς.* For this very Eukrates, whom Aristophanes, in the *Γῆρας*, had called the Boar of Melita, probably from his coarseness and bushy hair, for which he was also called the Bear, and because he belonged to the Demos Melita in the tribe Kekropis^s—being a dealer in hemp and flax, whence he got also the nickname of *στύππαξ*, and a proprietor of mills too, which enabled him not only to grind and deal in bran, but also, as Photios says, to fatten swine, this Eukrates took upon himself to set up as a leader of the people; and in v. 129 and 254 of “the Knights,”⁹ (on which passages the Scholia may be compared,) Aristophanes, in his burlesque list of the successive demagogues, from Perikles to Kleon, gives him another hard blow under the name

^s Meursius Athen. Att. v. 12. Heindorf. ad Plat. Parmen. l. Büekh. Corp. Inscr. I. 1, p. 125.

⁹ “Knights,” 129.

Δη. — ὅπως; ὁ χρησμός ἀντικρυς λέγει
ὥς πρῶτα μὲν στυππειοπώλης γίγνεται,
ὅς πρῶτος ἔξει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα.

Id. 254. Χο. — καὶ γὰρ οἷδε τὰς ὁδοὺς,
ἥσπερ Εὐκράτης ἔφευγεν εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων. Tr.

of *στρυππειοπώλης*, because, when compelled to render up his account, he had got off by means of his bran, i. e. he had saved himself by paying a large penalty in meal, which he gave to the people; and thus the attack upon him in the *Γῆρας* pointedly connects him with the real demagogues.¹⁰

But we may possibly obtain another trace of this personage of leader of the old men from Plutarch in *Nic.* 2, where he says of Kleon: ἴσχυε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα, γερονταγωγῶν καὶ ἀναμισθαρεῖν διδούς. Here, in the first place, we may learn the meaning of the word *γερονταγωγῶν*, which has been misunderstood by the commentators and translators, (whose opinions may be read in Hutten,) from what is said, in the preceding sentence, of *Nikias*: Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶχεν εὖνουν καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενον. The word *δῆμον* must be understood after *γερονταγωγῶν*, as *Πηλεα* is joined to *γερονταγωγῶ* in the above cited passage from *Sophocles*—and as the *ἐμαντὸν τουτοιῶ* of *Aristophanes* is connected with *γερονταγωγεῖν*. *Γερονταγωγεῖν τὸν δῆμον* means, to guide the people now in their dotage by leading strings. But the words *ἀναμισθαρεῖν διδούς*, sc. αὐτῷ can refer only to the pay of the *Dicasts*, so frequently alluded to by *Aristophanes*, which had been raised by *Kleon*, in order to give the means of getting their bread, to the starving multitude crowded together in the city by the system of carrying on the war.¹¹ The usual interpretation of this passage, which is

¹⁰ We learn from *Suidas*, in v. Ἀπεστιν, that this *Eukrates* is identical with the commander in *Thrace*, who is attacked in the *Lysistrata*, v. 103, as one not to be trusted. Εὐκράτης οὗτος ἦν στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ὁ καλούμενος στρόππαξ, ὠροδόκος, καὶ προδότης, ὃς ἀπώλειτο ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, οἱ δὲ ὡς πίων κώνειον.

¹¹ *Schömann* in *Attischen Prozess.* 3, 127.

adopted also by Coray, is, that Plutarch had in view the above cited passage of "the Knights," v. 1098, and only changed the second half of it. But, although it may not be a consideration of great weight, that this passage from "the Knights" refers to certain kind and gracious acts to be performed by the new leader of the people, whilst that from Plutarch, on the contrary, turns upon the directly opposite conduct of Kleon, yet can we scarcely believe it possible that the biographer would have ventured on such a complete and arbitrary alteration of the idea, as is implied in the ἀναμισθανεῖν διδοῦς, and in the construction of the whole passage. The words too γερονταγωγῶν καὶ ἀναμισθανεῖν διδοῦς sound like a Senarius, as also in the passage of Plutarch, reip. ger. precept. c. 13. (opp. T. xii. p. 159. ed. Hutten,) where they are equally employed in reference to Kleon; but they must be read with a slight alteration:

Γερονταγωγῶν κἀναμισθανεῖν διδοῦς.

As a distinct line, however, the thought can with still less probability, in consideration of the violence of the alteration, be supposed borrowed from the above passage in "the Knights." We are, therefore, under the necessity, as this line does not occur in any of the existing pieces of Aristophanes, of admitting it to be a fragment of one of his lost plays; and it may with great propriety be assigned to the *Γῆρας*, in consequence of its affinity to the general purport of that play. There can be no doubt, from the context, with which it is twice cited by Plutarch, that it must have referred to Kleon. I would not, however, thence conclude that the play contained a

principal character, namely that of leader of the old men, representing Cleon. The express declarations of the poet in "the Wasps," v. 62, sq. that he would not trample upon Kleon, who had already been brought forward in "the Knights," and in the still later parabasis of "the Clouds" (v. 599) that he had not a second time pounced upon him, when he had once struck him to the ground, these considerations would forbid such a supposition, if such a narrow and limited invention were not altogether foreign to the genius of the poet. He had not, however, engaged to preclude himself from insulated attacks on the demagogues, as is sufficiently proved by frequent instances.¹² But certainly Aristophanes, after "the Knights," never brought Kleon again upon the stage, as the principal character of any one of his plays.

The story of the Γῆρας, as it went on, introduced the rejuvenescence of the old men; and then followed the haughtiness and petulance of youth, amongst the first manifestations of which were the pillaging of the bread basket, and the quarrels about it with the hucksteress. This is the subject of the fragment in Athenaios, cited at the beginning of this essay, on which Brunck has evidently failed in the distribution of the parts. The first question, *Τοῦτ' ἴ ην τὸ πρῶγμα*; according to the introduction, with which Athenaios prefaces the fragment, *Ποιᾷ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρτόπωλιν*, must be put into the mouth, not of one of the old men, but of the baker's wife, as well as the appropriate rejoinder *ἀλλ' ἡ παροφροεῖς*; but the remaining words, *Ξερμοῦς, κρηθάνιτας, and λευκοῦς*, interrupted as they are by this

¹² See my Essay on the "Clouds," p. 61, Note 133.

ἀλλ' ἡ παραφρονεῖς; are spoken by one and the same old man. But hot and perfectly white bread, as we may easily be convinced by the chapter on bread in Athenaios, in which this fragment appears, is every where most delicate eating, wherefore the οὐ πάνυ λευκοῦς of Brunck is not a happy conjecture. Besides, the Epitomiser of Athenaios says: Κριζανίτας δὲ λευκοῦς ἄρτους Ἀριστοφάνης πον φησί—from which however we must not conclude, with Schweighäuser, that the Epitomiser read λευκοῦς instead of ζεσμοῦς, and that this last reading is an original error. Schweighäuser appears to me rather to have given the fragment correctly, as it is printed above;—for the affirmative ἡ in the second line, which is preserved in his text, is corrected to the interrogative ἤ in his notes. The old men, as soon as they are restored to youth, have, in the licentious profligacy of their new state, pillaged the basket of a baker's wife, who scolds and exclaims: Τουτὶ τί ἤν τὸ προῦγμα; as the woman in “the Lysistrata,” v. 350, or the Episkopos in “the Birds.” v. 1030, say, Τουτὶ τὶ ἤν; What is all this about? What does this mean? One of the old men answers in frolicsome pleasantry, “Hot bread, my dear child!” She interrupts him: “Art thou mad?” He goes on: “Well baked, my lovely one! pure, genuine white too,—hast thou decked thy table with, παρέθηκας;” or some similar word suited to the context.

Besides all this, Aristophanes has lost no opportunity of letting his old men with renovated youth give way to the petulance, of which they are so enamoured. In this sense we may catch the meaning of the fragment in Athenaios, IV. 4, p. 133 a, but which, according to Meineke's observation, con-

sists of Glykonic lines, in which it is easily arranged, and which must be read as follows :—

Ω πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς
τὰς δρυπετεῖς ἑταίρας,
ἢ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους,
ἀλμάδας ὥς ἐλάας,
στιφράς;—

In this passage, instead of the *δρυπεπεῖς* of Brunck, I read *δρυπετεῖς*, on the authority of Schweighäuser and some MSS. For although *δρυπεπεῖς* gives of itself a very good sense, very nearly approaching that of *δρυπετεῖς*, for *δρυπεπεῖς ἐλαῖαι* means ripe olives from the tree¹³ (with which we may compare *πεπαίτεραι*,¹⁴ applied to girls or maidens grown to their full maturity), still in this instance the expression *ἀλμάδας ὥς ἐλάας*, which is contrasted with the other, and is implied the image of maidens ripening to the marriageable age, requires to be set in opposition to *δρυπετεῖς*, that is, to olives fallen from the tree from being over-ripe. For in order to prepare *ἀλμάδας*, or pickled olives (*muriatas*), they select, not such as have fallen from the tree, but those which are perfectly sound, and gathered by the hand. (See the *Geoponica*)¹⁵ *μεγάλας καὶ ἀθίκτους ἐλαίας, τῇ χειρὶ λυφθείσας* (l. *ληφθείσας*. *Geop.* III. 11, 6, *σῦκα-*

¹³ On *δρυπεπέης* and *δρυπετήης*, besides the quotation of Brunck, see Pierson ad *Mærid.* p. 121, Schweighäuser ad *Athen.* II. p. 56 d, and Brunck and Jacobs ad *Antholog. græc.* Vol. II. P. 2, p. 109.

¹⁴ See the fragment of Xenarchos in *Athen.* XIII. p. 569 a sq. v. 7.—

ὦν ἐστὶν ἐκλεξάμενον ἢ τις ἤδεταί,
λεπτῇ, παχείᾳ, στρογγύλῃ, μακρᾷ, ῥικνῇ,
νέᾳ, παλαιᾷ, μεσοκόπῃ, πεπαιτέρᾳ,
μὴ κλίμακ' αἰτησάμενον εἰσβῆναι λάθρα &c.

¹⁵ *Geopon.* IX. 28, 1.

λαυγάζειν); according to Columella,¹⁶ sine maculâ, quàm candidissimas, manu destrectas; and according to Palladius.¹⁷ manu lectas—ex arbore lectas—illæsas, not yet fully ripe, consequently still a firm plump fruit (στιφράς), which may ripen in the pickle.¹⁸ Thus to ὑποπαρθένους, ἀλιάδας ὡς ἐλάας, στιφράς we can only set in opposition ἐρυπετεῖς ἐταῖρας, i. e. well known and worn out coquettes, or (according to Schneider's Lexicon, where in v. ἐρυπέτης he quotes, probably in reference to this passage, ἐρυπετεῖς ἐταῖραι) faded courtisans. But in the fragment one of the old men is evidently spoken to and invited by the matron of a πορρείον, who is on the watch in the street, like the old woman and the young girl¹⁹ in the Ekklesiasousai, (v. 877 sq. Comp. v. 693 sq.). Similar matrons are called by Nikandros in Athenaios²⁰ προστάσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων, and the fragment in Julius Pollux, VII. 125. and IX. 39,

ἐπὶ τοῦ περιδρόμου στᾶσα τῆς ξυνοικίας,

might also be taken in connection with the above. In this passage ξυνοικία can only admit of the sense given by Böckh (Staatshaush. d. Ath. Th. I. p. 77) that is, of a kind of lodging-house containing many lodgers, on the gallery of which the προστάτης was

¹⁶ De Re rust. XII. 49, 4.

¹⁷ De Re rust. XII. 22, 2, 3, 5, 6.

¹⁸ Columella, l. c. 7. Cum muria dura panna alba ubi comaturuerit. Pallad. l. c. 2. Electas olivas muria maturabis. In the passage from Celsus, II. 2, whom Schneider quotes in reference to Columella, que in arbore bene maturauerunt, we ought, I think, to read *pæne* instead of *bene*.

¹⁹ Compare the fragment above quoted from Xenarchos, v. 13 sq.

αὗται βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσελκονσί τε
τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι
πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀπράγια τοὺς νεώτερους.

²⁰ XIII. p. 569 d, and Schweighäuser on the passage.

standing. It is highly probable that to this fragment belonged the line, which is also, as Meineke observes, a Glykonic verse, quoted from the *Γῆρας* by Elian in *Hist. Anim.* XII. (XI. in Brunck is a mistake):—

Λορδοῦ κυκλοβάταν ῥυθμόν.

Brunck incorrectly writes *κυγκλιοβάταν*, but Schneider has admitted the correction of Conrad Gesner, *κυγκλοβάταν*, as is required also by the metre. They must have been speaking of the quick movement of the *λόρδεωσις*,²¹ like that of the wagtail. The address *ὦ πρεσβῦτα* might indeed seem to preclude us from considering the whole fragment as the invitation of a bawd to an old man, after the renovation of his youth, and we might therefore incline to look upon the scene, as previous to that metamorphosis, and as a mockery of one of the infirmities of age, which would of course afford ample matter for comic sport. But an old grey-beard might also be addressed by the bawd as *πρεσβύτης*, even after this change had come upon him, for old acquaintance-sake, and with still more comic effect. Altogether, as my friend Böckh has observed, the old ones do not seem to have so rapidly slipped into their youthful characters, and are thereby well calculated to produce contrasts in the purest spirit of comedy; as, for example, the baker's wife, called by them *τέκνον*, as if they were still in their old age.

To this also must be referred the fragment derived from the Scholiast on the *Theriaca* of Nikandros, 295, and restored by Toup in *Emend. in Suidam.* p. 363, ed. Lip.: *Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γῆρα, γυναῖκα*

²¹ See Toup *Emendat. in Suid.* p. 257 sq. ed. Lips. *Intpp. ad Aristoph. Eccles.* 10.

ποιήσας ἐπὶ ζεύγους ὄνου ὀχουμένην παράγει τινα
ἐρῶντα αὐτῆς, ἣ καὶ ἐρεθίζουσά φησι πρὸς αὐτόν

ἀποπλευστέον

Ἐπὶ νυμφίον ἐστὶν, ᾧ γαμοῦμαι τήμερον.

From which it appears that in the *Γῆρας* a woman was brought upon the stage sitting in a car drawn by an ass, and that she said in raillery to her lover, who was accompanying her, she must go to her bridegroom, to whom she was to day to be married. The question preserved in Phrynichos, p. 367, ed. Lobeck—

Τίς ἂν φράσειε ποῦ ἔστι τὸ Διονύσιον;²²

may have been previously addressed on a similar occasion to the same character. It may here be observed that Scaliger and Lobeck (though not Brunck, who has generally too much neglected the fragments of Aristophanes, as if they were good for nothing) have made a right distinction between this line and that which belongs and replies to it.

Ὅπου τὰ μορμολυκεῖα προσκρεμάννυνται.

We here perceive, what frequently occurs in Aristophanes, and which was quite natural to the old comedy, a confusion of the place where the play was actually exhibited with the pretended scene of the story; and we may conjecture from this fragment, that that scene was the open space in front of the great theatre. Probably the stage displayed the front of the Dionysion, on which tragic and comic masks were suspended. The scene of the dramas which have a direct political interest Aristophanes is accus-

²² This word must certainly have been written *Διονυσείον*, and not *Διονύσιον*, as it is immediately followed by the observation *ἀπαίδευτον ὅτω λέγειν*, agreeing with Lobeck's quotation from Herodian, *ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ λέγοντες Διονυσείον*.

tomed to lay²³ in the Pnyx, or in its vicinity, as the usual place for the assemblies of the people, with which assemblies the stories are more or less directly connected; the choice of the scene in the Γῆρας may have had a similar cause, as it is notorious that these assemblies were sometimes held in the Dionysion. But the lover is probably himself the bridegroom of the woman, as it is only in play that she tells him she is going to the house of her betrothed. This could not have been properly said to a stander-by, as the conveyance of the woman along the stage to the marriage ceremony, which is to take place the same day, was certainly not a mere accessory in the story of the piece. We are therefore entitled to suppose that this lover and bridegroom was in truth one of the old men who had been restored to youth.

Here we may compare the conduct of Philokleon in "The Wasps," who, when cured of his fondness for law-suits, and having exchanged his former fellowships for that which was then called fashionable society, but which is held up to ridicule by Aristophanes, now in the consciousness of renewed youth, lays about his blows in every direction; and having left the wedding-feast, he immediately (1312) introduces a scene of gallantry with a music-girl, and afterwards keeps company with a baker's wife, out of whose basket, amidst his brawls and riot, he had thrown a parcel of loaves. Neither can we fail to perceive a resemblance, first to Dikaiopolis in "The Acharnians," who, after the conclusion of his separate peace, not only indulges in the extravagance of joy, but lets himself be cajoled by two wenches (v. 1198); and again to Demos in "The Knights,"

²³ Kanngiesser on the old comic stage in Athens, p. 178 sq.

who, when released from the tutelage of Kleon, and restored to youth by Agorakritos, immediately receives the *σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτιδες* in the form of two pretty girls, in whose company he is to give himself up to love at his country-seat. (1388 sq.) These parallel traits are equally striking, whether we consider the anecdotes as mere sport and playful raillery, or look to their real import. For bread and physical enjoyment both belong to the comforts and delights of the peace which is to be obtained, after a deliverance from the rule of the false demagogues, whom Aristophanes holds forth to the people on every possible occasion, to tack on to his story their evil tendency. We have only to call to mind how often, in "The Acharnians," in "The Wasps," and in "The Peace," he warns them of the distresses brought into the crowded city by the mode, not in itself blameable, which Perikles had pursued in carrying on the Peloponnesian war; how in "The Knights," Kleon and the sausage-seller contend for the superiority; and how the latter promises to Demos (v. 778) that he would plunder and set before him the produce of other countries, *ἄρτους ἀλλοτρίους*,²¹ (compare also v. 1101 sq.); and, finally, how after a happy release from despotic violence, every kind of prosperity, and a well-fed belly, will follow, contrasted with the misery and starvation of their adversaries: and we can no longer entertain a doubt, that the greediness, with which the renovated greybeards in the *Γῆρας* fall upon the delicate white bread and the hot rolls, must have had a similar meaning. This

²¹ The soil of Attica was never favourable to the production of fine wheat; and even now an Athenian citizen can receive from his friends in Boiotia, or in the Peloponnesos, no more welcome present than a few loaves of good white bread. Tr.

greediness represents the warm and anxious desire with which the people, when restored to a free and healthier state of peace, would resume possession of their former property, the moment it was again accessible to them. In "The Lysistrata," the women alone form the want, and the motive, on which the whole, that is the peace, which is to be restored to Hellas, exclusively turns. But the most full and perfect application to our comedy is the example of Trygaios in "The Peace," who brings down from Olympos with Eirene, Theoria also, as a present from Hermes for the senate to intrigue with (713 sq. 811 sq.), and Opora for himself, to pass his life with in love and peace upon his farm (v. 706 sq. 842 sq. 808 sq. 1329 sq.), and in the solemnization of whose wedding the piece ends with a joyous entertainment. So also in the *Γῆρας*, (which probably concluded with the union of the old gentleman, who had acted the principal part, and who is now restored to youth, with the woman, who was conducted, perhaps from the country, to her betrothed, to be married to him the same day, and who may possibly have been a symbolical character, like Opora and others) the piece would end with their happy and joyous marriage, as did the play of "The Birds" with that of Peisthetairos and Basileia, who had been extorted from Jupiter for himself and for his country. These and such like conclusions were well suited to the feast, which awaited the choros from the liberality of the choregos,²⁵ and were therefore readily introduced by the writers of the old comedy.

²⁵ Acharn. 1155; Pac. 1022. The line from the *Πελαργοί*, and probably from its parabasis, which has been preserved by Athenaios, IX. p. 388, f—

Ἀτταγᾶς ἥδιστον ἐψεῖν ἐν ἐπινικίοις κρέας,

seems to have formed part of one of these songs of victory.

From the preceding observations it is clear that the proper subject of the *Γῆρας* was the representation of the people of Athens, at first sunk in the weakness and infirmities of old age, and blind to their real situation, then released from it, and restored to the health and vigour of youth, and to a fresh renovated enjoyment of life and its pleasures : and Aristophanes had thus availed himself in this drama of the idea, which so frequently occurs scattered about in his other pieces, of the decrepitude of the people, of the weakness and dependency connected with it, to form one especial exhibition, which, independently of every thing else, would bring this state of things to a crisis, and lead to the renovation of all their youthful energies.

It is however somewhat difficult to determine with accuracy the precise state of things, and the contemporary circumstances in Athens, which the poet had in his eye on this occasion ; for we have no sufficiently clear data as to the period of the exhibition of the *Γῆρας*. There would have been no uncertainty about it, if Harpokration, in v. *Τῆτε*, where he quotes the *Γῆρας* of Aristophanes, had cited the passage in which that word occurred. In the mean time the following observations may perhaps lead to an approximate notion of the time.

To judge from the existing works of Aristophanes, we may admit two main divisions of such of his dramas as come under the description of the old comedy—namely, those which preceded the fifty years' truce with Sparta (Ol. 89-3), and those which were composed and exhibited subsequently. All which belong to the first period are intimately connected with each other ; they each and all move in one common circle of ideas, and in the same unvary-

ing direction. They take the part generally of the good old times of the Athenian republic, and that of the old men themselves, against the younger generation, and against the principles, prevalent amongst these last, of a new period which was approaching. They are opposed to the war with Sparta, and are especially arrayed against the abuses and mischievous results, which ensued from the mode of carrying it on, and in which the elements of the new times, all tending to the ruin of the national character and of the republic, were fostered. In their mode of treatment we observe to prevail a straight forward attack, and an open, direct and serious raillery, which avows its real drift and aim—namely, to save the state from the ruin with which it is menaced, and to bring back the people, if possible, to the use of their right senses. The later pieces, on the other hand, though with no change in their object or their matter, and though the earlier points of view are ever returning to the mind of the poet, yet cling in a much less degree to particular propensities, and rather deal in general views respecting the republic, and the fundamental evils under which it is suffering; whilst in the mode of treatment the serious earnestness, and a conviction of the inutility of enforcing a too rigid discipline, retire behind the mask of irony, which is allowed to range with extravagant and licentious playfulness, amongst all the follies and vagaries of life.

But doubtless there existed between these two classes another, i. e. a middle class of Aristophanic comedies; this would consist of those which appeared in the interval between the fifty years' truce and the open renewal of the war, or rather the Sicilian expedition. During this interval there arose at Athens a high state of excitement, in reference to her relations

with Sparta, with her allies, and with Argos; and this gave rise to very peculiar political interests; whilst the return of a state of comfort and prosperity, an increasing population, and the growing luxury of the city, furnished to the political parties, as well as to the various germs of moral and scientific education within the walls, ample materials on which to act, and a large arena, on which they might contend amongst themselves, and aid in the reciprocal development of one another. This could not fail to have its influence on the comic stage; and I imagine that a great part of the comedies relating to the life and manners of the city, and amongst these the *Δῆμοι*, and, somewhat later, the *Βασταὶ* of Eupolis, are to be assigned to this period of time. But as no one perfect piece belonging to this interval has reached us, a loss which cannot be sufficiently deplored, as it has certainly deprived us of many important explanations respecting persons and events, we are precluded from forming to ourselves any definite idea on the especial character of the comedies of that time.

It is obvious that this observation, which I shall take another opportunity of pursuing further, furnishes a criterion only of very general use, and which can very seldom be applied to dramas which have been lost, and then only in reference to their contents. Thus in the case before us, if what we have discovered on the contents of the *Πῆρα* be correct, we cannot deny that it was nearly connected with the range of ideas, which prevails in "The Acharnians," "The Knights," "The Wasps," and "The Peace," and we shall not hesitate to give to it a place in the first division of the Aristophanic comedies.

We are further justified in this conclusion by a

new fragment of the *Γῆρας*, contained in the following article of the *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων* in Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 430: Ἀπολογίσασθαι καὶ ἀπολογίζεσθαι τὸ ἐπεξελεῖν ἕκαστα. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ θ' *Γήρα*.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπολογίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων.

The designation contained in the expression ἐν τῷ θ', to which I can give no other explanation than that which occurs in my academical treatise on various historical and political allusions in the ancient tragedy, p. 37, is doubtless derived from some old *Didaskalia*: and as it denotes the *Γῆρας* to have been the ninth in order of time of the dramatic pieces of Aristophanes, it places it amongst the poet's earlier comedies. That it was posterior to "The Knights" is probable from the circumstance, that an idea, which in "The Knights" is quite subordinate, and is in no way necessary for its conclusion, the story being complete on the tanner-demagogue being overthrown by the sausage-seller, is taken up in the *Γῆρας*, and brought forth as the principal motive of the piece; and it was likely to be well received; but to have served up a second time, and in a secondary character, that which had formed the main-spring of another story, would scarcely have been adopted by the scrupulous Aristophanes.

If more be wanted, the fragments will furnish us with another warranty for this purpose; though we can not with certainty particularize the occurrence, to which it may allude. The fragment in Julius Pollux, IV. 180, which has been already cited—

Ὁφθαλμιάσας πέρυσιν εἶτ' ἔσχον κακῶς, &c.

evidently refers to some event which took place in the year preceding the exhibition of the *Γῆρας*, upon which perhaps further explanation might have been

obtained from the context. But in its present defective state it leaves us in doubt, whether we are to consider it as a really historical, or merely as a dramatical event. It might indeed be fairly conjectured that the poet had in his mind the political blindness of the people, and their cure, which are represented in "The Knights." In that case the *Γῆρας* must have been given in the year following "The Knights," i. e. Ol. 89-1, in which "The Clouds" were exhibited. But the words of the fragment speak too decidedly of an ophthalmia, a disease in the eye, for Aristophanes to have referred simply to the very general state of the Demos as exhibited in "The Knights," and to its treatment. The historical event, to which the fragment alludes, must then have been of this description; that the people, at first blind to their true interests, and thereby plunged in misery, are subsequently enlightened as to their real situation, by an able statesman, and brought to the adoption of some wholesome resolution. Such an occurrence readily offers itself in the truce for one year, which was concluded with Sparta early in the summer of Ol. 89-1 (Thuc. IV. 117), subsequent to the rejection by the people, at Kleon's instigation, of all the propositions for peace made by the Lacedæmonians in the preceding year. This had been brought about by the defeat at Delion, and by the signal losses which Athens had sustained from the successful expeditions of Brasidas on the frontiers of Thrace: these events had made the people repent of their rejection of the earlier overtures of the Spartans after the disasters at Pylos,²⁶ had filled them with apprehensions, and brought them to other notions.²⁷ As Nicias was the

²⁶ Thuc. IV. 27. Καὶ μετεμέλονται τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι.

²⁷ Ἐχόμενης δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μέγα εἶος κατέστησαν.

constant adversary of Kleon, and had been particularly opposed to him in the discussions, which took place respecting the expedition against Pylos, intimately connected as this last was with the first negotiations for peace (Thuc. IV. 27, 28), it is highly probable that this commander took also a leading part in this negotiation, notwithstanding that Laches was the real proposer (rogator) of the armistice; for Nikias' name is enumerated amongst those, by whom the treaty was concluded and signed (Thucyd. IV. 119). He had indeed been before this in discredit with the people, for having given up the command of the army against Sphakteria, and for having induced them to entrust it to Kleon, who however had had the good fortune to justify by his success his ostentatious promises respecting the capture of the island.²⁸ But as Nikias in the interval had achieved several other military deeds (Thuc. IV. 42 sq. 55 sq. Diodor. XII. 65), it was thereby the easier for him, when the popular voice in reference to the war had undergone a change, first to obtain an ascendancy over Kleon, which enabled him to influence the truce for a single year, and then, Ol. 89-3, after Kleon's death, to bring about the peace (Thuc. V. 16, VII. 86), which was called the peace of Nikias, and which placed him at once on the pinnacle of popular favour (Plut. Nic. 9, Alcib. 14). Nikias therefore may have been the physician intended in the fragment of the *Γῆρας*, who the year before had anointed and cured, though only for a short time, the sore eyes of the people, represented under the type of the old man: and the

etc. "Ἀμα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς βουλευτοῖς νεωστὶ πεπληγμένων, etc. comp. 117. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγούμενοι, ἅπερ ἔδεισαν, φοβεῖσθαι etc.

²⁸ Plutarch. Nic. 8. Καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἡνεγκεν ἀδοξίαν.

drama would then be placed in Ol. 89-2, and represented at the great Dionysia, as "The Wasps" was at the Lenaia of the same year.

The fragment above quoted from Priscian, perfectly well agrees with the foregoing data. The leader pointed out in that passage could not, for reasons already adduced, have represented Kleon. The only individual of that class, whom we can at all think of, is Hyperbolos. But it was not till after the death of Kleon that he became of any political importance (Schol. ad Nub. 625 sq. ad Pac. 680); and according to Aristophanes himself, Eupolis was the first who, in the Marikas, made him on that account an object of comic representation. The manner in which Aristophanes mentions this piece and its imitators, leaves it indeed in doubt whether our poet, with the exception of some single attacks upon the individual, ever thought his short-lived influence over the people deserving of more particular notice than the raillery, with which it is visited in v. 680, 692,²⁹ and v. 1319 of "The Peace." But what could have engaged the poet to bring upon the stage in the Γῆρας another demagogue after Kleon's fashion, when he had already produced the original of the species in "The Knights?" Is it not more probable

²⁹ The transposition of the lines in this passage, which is proposed in the proemium to the Catalogue of Lectures of the Breslau University for the summer half-year of 1826, is unnecessary, grounded as it is on a misunderstanding of the words *εἰ βέλτερον γερησιόμεθα*, which does not mean *melius deinceps rebus nostris prospiciemus*, but *melius, accuratius consultabimus* (without *deinceps*), an allusion to the *δηροκρατία* of the Athenians, so frequently ridiculed by Aristophanes, and their complicated, selfish, precipitate, and therefore unfortunate, management of public affairs; and in the expression *πρὸς ἃ πάντα πρὸς ἀέχρον βουλευόμεν*, v. 692, is contained its full meaning, as a censure alike on Hyperbolos and on the people.

that, as the whole story of this piece springs out of the conclusion of "The Knights," the character also of the demagogue in the *Γῆρας* is resumed and completed, just as Demos in "The Knights" is restored to youth by means of a sausage-seller exalted into the noble-minded Agorakritos? From such a faithful *προστάτης*, and real true *ἐπίτροπος* (Pac. 684, 686), the old men who appear in this play, and who represent the people, would naturally expect their deliverance from the infirmities of age; and the one of their body who remembered that a few days before, just prior to a circumstance which happened to him of a disagreeable nature, he was not under the guidance of him with whom he was speaking, would now therefore with the greater confidence again trust himself to him. Through his intervention therefore the renovation also of the old man's youth is probably brought about.

But if the conductor of the old men in the *Γῆρας* was a person of this description, and if Aristophanes, as we may admit, in conformity to the whole character of his comedies, intended by it the representation of some historical individual, this can be no other than Nikias. The raillery and bantering directed against him, in which Aristophanes at times indulges, do not contradict this supposition. His personal appearance in "The Knights" coincides exactly with the period of his being in discredit with the people, and is an expression of the indisposition towards him, which was certainly shared by many at the time, because Nikias had made over to Kleon the command of the army against Pylos, and by so doing had placed the Demos entirely in his hands, to the evident injury of the³⁰ state. The allusions made on this occasion to his indi-

³⁰ Plut. Nic. 8. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔβλαψεν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης ἑάσας καὶ ἐνδράμεως, etc.

vidual character, particularly to his extraordinary circumspection, timidity, and superstition (Equit. 17, 30, 358), were founded on fact (Plutarch. Nic. 2, 4. Thucyd. plur. loc. cf. Poppo in Proleg. ad Thucyd. vol. ii. p. 84 sq.), and were perfectly well suited, and perhaps intentionally so, to rouse him to a more decided line of conduct. At a later period too, the expression *μελλονικῶν* (Av. 639), which I refer to his cautious and dilatory conduct in the Sicilian expedition, bears with it evidently a character of blame, but which no more than the above mentioned allusions, denotes a general ill-will; and perhaps it may be explained as having an especial reference, the application of which I purpose to develope in an essay on "The Birds" of Aristophanes, which will probably soon make its appearance. We ought indeed rather to admit that there was every reason for a good understanding between Aristophanes and Nikias, either on account of the great expenditure, which the latter indulged in in his choregiai, a circumstance which may have had considerable influence on the relations between the dramatic poets and the politicians, or it may have been owing simply to the identity of the political views of the one and the other. For if Nikias was anxious for peace, Aristophanes was no less so. In the dramas of the latter, and particularly in "The Acharnians," and in "The Peace," it is always the elder citizens, the landed proprietors, who had something to lose by the war, that exert themselves to put an end to the hostilities. He had indeed composed a whole piece, the *Γεωργοὶ*, the fragments of which most distinctly show, that the anxiety of the farmers for the return of peace,³¹ and

³¹ Compare particularly the fragment in Stobaios, p. 337, 2:—

Ἐπὶ ἡμῶν βαθεῖ πλεοντε, καὶ ζευγάριον βοσκόν
εἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ παυσαμένῳ τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο

the gratification of the wishes of that class of citizens, formed the subject of its contents. This last mentioned play contains an allusion, preserved also by Plutarch. Nic. 8, to Nikias' withdrawing from the command at Pylos, which being so situated that it can only be taken in reference to a recent occurrence, shows that it must have been exhibited about the time of "The Knights," whilst it is clear from its contents that it must be ranked with the earlier comedies of Aristophanes, particularly "The Acharnians" and "The Peace." On the whole however it is quite in harmony with the political system of Nikias, of whom Plutarch says (Nic. 2), not only that immediately on the death of Perikles, he was arrayed, especially by the rich and upper classes, in opposition to Kleon in the Demagogia, possessing also as he did then the good wishes of the Demos,

σκάψαντ' ἀποκλάσαι, καὶ λουσαμένῳ διεκύνσαι
τῆς τρυγῆς, ἄρτον λιπαρὸν καὶ ῥάφανον φέροντι.

And also Acharn. 33 sq. 196 sq. 294 sq. Pac. 556 sq. 591 sq. 1127 sq. Equitt. 805, sq., and the fragment from the *Νήσοι*, the resemblance between which and the above, particularly the *Ξενοφώνος οἰκείον βοσῶν*, in the fourth line, led to the different reading in the copies of Stobaios, in which the lines above given are cited as a fragment of the *Νήσοι*. The expression too *ἀποκλάσαι* in the third line, for which Salmasius and Grotius wish to substitute *ἀπολοῦσαι*, can only be a compound of *ὀκλάσαι* (see Soph. *Ced. Colon.* 196, and Elmsley's and Hermann's notes, Suidas also Photios and Phrynichos, Bekk. p. 56, 1; compare also p. 1072', and must mean "to rest one's self, sitting with bent knees." It is here aptly used for sitting on an *ὀκλαΐας*, that is, on a camp-stool, which may be folded up and carried behind any one; such as Agorakritos in "The Knights" presents to Demos when returning to his farm in the country; we must therefore here properly refer to an *ὀκλαΐας* (*Etymol. magn.* h. v. We may compare also the fragment in Stobaios, p. 368, 1, which is given by Gaisford to the *Ἐωήνη*, but which Seidler, in his *Disput. de Aristoph. fragm.* has more correctly adjudged to the second "Peace."

but likewise that in a very short time, by his exertions to bring about a peace, he had got on his side those who were in easy circumstances, the elders, and the great body of landed proprietors. (Comp. Pac. 508 sq.) If Nikias then belonged to this class of the people, an allusion to him in the part of the leader of the old men in the *Γῆρας*, not indeed under his name, as in that case we should have had from other sources a more distinct and precise knowledge of the fact, was quite *en regle*, and perfectly conformable to the political opinions of Aristophanes. The occurrence, a few days before which, according to the fragment in Priscian, this guide had been conducting the old gentleman, may now be easily pointed out; for the premature violation of the year's truce by Brasidas at the defection of Skione, which was immediately followed by that of Mende, gave to Kleon an opportunity, which he had been looking for, for carrying on the war on the frontiers of Thrace, and it was he who availed himself of this event, to prevail upon the people to pass a decree for the entire annihilation of the first of these two towns.³² By the termination of this armistice Nikias' influence, active as it had been, was again thwarted, and Aristophanes may have meant to allude to that circumstance, when he put the words above mentioned into the mouth of the old man. Now immediately after the resolution about Skione Kleon left the city for the theatre of war (Thuc. V. 2), and as consequently the party opposed to him resumed their influence, the poet would naturally be inclined to present to the people

³² Thuc. IV. 122. *Ψήφισμα τ' ἐβόηεν ἐποιήσαντο, Κλέωνες γυνώμη πεισθόντες, Σκιωναίους ἐξελείν τε καὶ ἀποκτείνειν.* Diodor. XII. 72.

in lively colours the image of another guidance, under which they might hope for better fortunes; and no personage was so appropriate as Nikias, who had lately been commanding with success on the Thracian frontiers, to be designated as the individual from whose sentiments expectations might be excited, corresponding to the wants and wishes of the people, which he had already justified by his former conduct, and which in fact he not long afterwards realized. If I have demonstrated the probability, that this was the subject of the *Γῆρας*, I shall have shown also the very special, as well as the general import of the drama.

Thukydides (VII. 86 fin.) praises Nikias *διὰ τῇν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν*³³ *νεομοσμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν*; Aristotle classes him amongst the three, whom he calls the best citizens and most enlightened friends of the people (Plut. Nic. 2); and in spite of some strokes of raillery aimed at him by the contemporary comic poets, he does not seem altogether to have been an object of their aversion. This appears also from the two fragments preserved by Plutarch (Nic. 4), from Telekleides and from Eupolis, both of whom, though not without evincing at the same time respect and consideration, reprove his anxious solicitude to silence the Sykophants, or trading informers, by money, and to display his liberality to the poor. The first of these fragments expressly announces a disposition to spare and praise him: *Φίλος γὰρ ἀνὴρ, σωφρονεῖν ἐὲ μοι δοκεῖ*. “For Nikias is my friend, a very wise

³³ According to the reading adopted by Bekker, which is doubtless the correct one, as the common reading, *διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτήδευσιν*, is in direct contradiction to the character of the historian. Compare Diodorus, XII. 82. *Νικίας* ——— *θαυμαζόμενος ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις*.

“man besides, in my opinion.” And in the other, from the Marikas, Hyperbolos—for according to the words of Plutarch, ‘Οδ’ ὑπ’ Εὐπόλιδος κωμωδούμενος ἐν τῇ Μαρικᾷ, he it is who examines the poor man against Nikias—in the midst of his exultations at having caught Nikias in some bad practices, is himself sharply thrown on his back, and Nikias is complimented.³⁴ Eupolis in this passage thus evidently takes the side of Nikias against Hyperbolos and his party, the *ιταμοστάτους* and *πανουργοστάτους*, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ὑπέρβολος, according to Plutarch, Nic. 11, whence, by the bye, we ascertain the political tendency of the Marikas, in the parties which were forming at the time of its exhibition—namely, those of Nikias and Alkibiades, between which that of Hyperbolos also attempted to start up, but was soon subdued (Plutarch, l. c.). It is therefore not impossible that the author of the *Δημοῖ*, where he introduces a personage under the name of Myronides conversing with the manes of Perikles and Miltiades, arisen from the shades below (which personage has hitherto, though incorrectly, been taken for the old Myronides himself),³⁵ really meant to represent Nikias, and gave to him the more suitably the name of that commander, as he at once announced

³⁴ Coray has correctly distributed this fragment amongst the speakers; but the two last lines have not been hitherto divided as they ought to be. The best arrangement is that which is found in Hertel. *Sentent. vetust. Comic.* p. 298:—

Ἑκούσατ’ ὧ συνέλικε,

Ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον.

B. Ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὧ φρενοβλαβεῖς,

Λάβοιτ’ ἄν ἄνδρ’ ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινι;

Every one will agree with Böckh, that the line is interrogatory, and expressed with much indignation.

³⁵ Meineke, *Quaestiones Scenicae* Spec. 1, p. 49. Compare my Essay on “The Clouds,” respecting this commander.

him as a popular leader of the old stamp, and he had been also denominated by Aristophanes a pattern of the old times and manners (Eccles. 302 sq. Lysistr. 301 sq.) For amongst his contemporaries, no one was so well qualified to treat in the name of the people on their affairs with Aristeides, Miltiades and Perikles, as Nikias from the whole tenor of his political opinions, and because he was opposed as well to Alkibiades, and the youths who attached themselves to him, as also to Kleon, of which last we now know from the corrected reading of Κλέωνα for Γέλωνα³⁶ in the fragment quoted by the scholiast on Aristeides, and restored as it has been on the authority of good MSS., that he was brought up from the shades below in the Δῆμοι, together with other and less pernicious demagogues. A fair conjecture may easily be formed of the character in which he there appeared; but we learn it perhaps more precisely from the warning of Trygaios in "The Peace" of Aristophanes, v. 313 sq.:—³⁷

Εὐλαβεῖσθ' ἑκείνον τὸν κάτωθεν Κέρβερον,

Μὴ παφλάζων καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὥσπερ ἡνίκ' ἐνθάδ' ἦν,

Ἐμποδὼν ἡμῖν γένηται τὴν θεὸν μὴ ἔλκύσαι,

which is further confirmed, v. 648 sq.:—

Παῦε, παῦ' ὦ δέσποθ' Ἐρμῆ, μὴ λέγε·

Ἄλλ' ἔα τὸν ἄνδρ' ἑκείνον οὔπερ ἔστ' εἶναι κάτω.

Οὐ γὰρ ἡμέτερος ἔτ' ἔστ' ἑκείνος ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ σός—

His appearance however in "The Demoi" seems in favour of the exhibition of that piece not long after his death, that is, about the time which I have

³⁶ Schol. Aristid. ed. Frommell, p. 257.

³⁷ Essay on "The Clouds," l. c. At all events the question of "The Demoi" turned chiefly on war, or on the maintenance of peace, and this question was of the greatest importance at the period which I have adopted.

assumed for it;³ and it is not improbable that Eupolis, in bringing Kleon upon the stage from the nether regions, purposely went counter to the warning and prayer of Aristophanes, that they should leave where he was the disturber of the public peace. I cannot, on the other hand, admit the argument, by which it is maintained that "The Demoi" was first represented in Ol. 91-4, namely, that Laispodias who is assailed in that piece commanded in the expedition against Argos (Thuc. VI. 105), which took place soon after the departure of that against Sicily, and that Demostratos, who is also attacked in the same play, had been one of the great promoters of the Sicilian expedition: I do not think this notion is maintainable, because in the fragment of "The Demoi" in the scholiast on Aristeides, Perikles and Miltiades are entreated no longer to allow the *μειράκια κινούμενα*, boisterous youngsters, to be invested with the dignity of commanders,³⁹ amongst whom we are certainly to understand not only Demostratos, Laispodias, Damasias and others, but Alkibiades also, who was at the head of them; now in the fourth year of the 91st Olympiad this could no longer be applicable to Alkibiades, who had long before been recalled from Sicily, and had been condemned after his evasion—and because also, if the conclusion drawn from the giving the command to Laispodias, and from the attack upon him in "The Demoi," is to be considered as fixing the date of that piece, several other persons, who had taken a part in the Sicilian expedition, could not have been

³⁸ Meineke, l. c. p. 51.

³⁹ Thucyd. VI. 12, where Nikias says in reference to Alkibiades: *Εἰ τί τις ἄρχειν ἄσμενος παραινέι ὑμῖν ἐκπλεῖν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεώτερος ἔστι ὢν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν*. It is very tempting to consider these words of Nikias as having reference to the fragment.

assailed in any of the existing comedies of Aristophanes, which are beyond all doubt of a date prior to that war, without justifying similar conclusions respecting these plays.

I add by way of appendix a few observations on some other fragments of the *Γῆρας*, the situation of which, taking, as I have done, a general view only of its whole arrangement, I have not ventured, or am unable to point out.

1. In Bekker's *Anecdota* we find two inedited fragments from the *Γῆρας*. At page 102, 15, is the unimportant word *καταλαλεῖν*. 'Αριστοφάνης *Γῆρα*— and the other in page 449, 14: 'Αρχηγέται· ἡγεμονες ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν. 'Αριστοφάνης *Γῆρα*·

Ὁ δὲ μεθύων ἤμει παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας.

It is applied to some one who had disburthened himself of the excess of wine which he had swallowed, near the statues of the ἐπώνυμοι (Wolf Proleg. in Demosth. Leptin. p. cxxxiii. note 132). However, it is not improbable that this may have been one of the characteristic traits of debauchery in the old men on the renewal of their youth.

2. The fragment IV. in Brunck, from Suidas voc. *στλεγγίς*, and from the Schol. ad Aristoph. *Equitt.* 580, Dind.—

Εἰ παιδαρίοις ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ σφαῖραν καὶ στλεγγίδ' ἔχοντα,

is also in the Scholia on Plato, p. 334, ed. Bekker, and in Photios in γ. *στλεγγίς*. We must not however understand by *στλεγγίδ'* a strigile, but a rich and costly comb, which, as well as a ball or globe, was carried by an ἀκόλουθος, or pedisequus, for show and ornament (Heindorf ad Platon. *Charmid.* § 6) in the train of children of the upper classes (Böckh's *Staats-Haushaltung der Athener*, Th. 2, p. 330).

3. The two fragments in Julius Pollux, VI. 69, and in Diog. Laert. IV. 18, evidently make one sentence. The former gives the two first lines quite perfect:—

Ὀξωτὰ, σιλφιωτὰ, βύλβος, τεύτλιον,

Περίκομμα, θρῖον, ἐγκέφαλος, ὀρίγανον,

and Diogenes adds a third, which connects with them, when he says of Polemon: Ἦν οὖν ἀστεῖός τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρηγήμενος ἃ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Ἑυριπίδου

Οξωτὰ καὶ σιλφιωτὰ,

ἅπερ, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι,

Καταπηγοσύνη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα.

The immediate connection of this third line with the two above quoted is proved by the ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, as I have written it, corrected from ταῦτά 'στι of Brunck. Aristophanes names several dainty and savoury messes and ingredients, some of which were also reputed *στυτικὰ* (Athen. I. p. 18, d. e.; comp. III. p. 63, d. sq. and p. 64, a.), and *ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα* (Meineke ad Menandr. p. 161), and joins them together in the third line: these delicate and seductive viands have so much more charms for *καταπηγοσύνη*, i. e. for the refined voluptuary, than a piece of firm meat, so welcome to a healthy and uncorrupted taste! In admitting the justness of Professor Böckh's observation, that πρὸς in this passage bears the sense of placing something on a par with, and almost above, another (as Herodot. III. 94, and VII. 44, in πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους. Demosth. de Symmor. p. 185, 3, Reisk. πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας—πόλεις. Id. adv. Leptin. § 26, πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν see Wolf. and Musgrave also ad Eurip. Ion. 1532), I relinquish the explanation of these words, which I have advanced

in my essay on the Clouds, p. 20. But it is clear from Diogenes that the fragment was directed against Euripides, to whose style Aristophanes imputes on other occasions also an influence destructive of all moral restraints, and conducive to effeminacy and licentiousness; and he here compares his works to those dishes, which a depraved taste only, ever seeking for dainties, can prefer to a plain and homely diet.

4. In fragment IX. which Brunck gives from Julius Pollux, X. 74, Bentley, in Epist. ad Hemsterhus. at the close of Ruhnken Elog. Hemsterhus. p. 97, ed. Lugd. Bat., had already rejected the εφ' from the beginning of the line, which Brunck has replaced, by which the whole line is correct in metre and in sense:—

Ἵδρίαν δανείζειν, πεντέχουν ἢ μείζονα.

5. Schweighäuser is still in doubt whether, in fragment III. in Brunck, from Athenaios, VII. p. 287, d.—

Ταῖς πολιοχρῶσι βεμβράσιν τεθραμμένα,
we ought not still to preserve the common reading βεμβράσι, which Brunck has not altered, but which Jacobs, Additam. animadv. in Athenæum, p. 165, has changed into βεμβράσιν, and its propriety cannot be denied.

6. Jul. Poll. X. 61. Κληρωτήριον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἔοικεν εἰρῆσθαι τοῦνομα ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγείου ἂν ἐναρμόσειεν, whence it seems that Aristophanes has so applied the word Κληρωτήριον in the Γήρας, that it may be doubted whether we are to understand by it the place in which the judges gave their votes, or the vessel used upon that occasion; whereas in Eccles. 681, it can only be taken in the latter sense. Compare

Schömann de sortitione iudicium apud Ath. p. 26 sq. The mention of the vessel might easily be confounded with that of the place, e. g. if he had said ἐπὶ τὸ κληρωτήριον ἵέναι.

7. There still remain two short fragments which, that none may be omitted, may here be restored. In Julius Poll. X. 104, we have κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν, and in Harpokration, v. Σκαφίον· ὅτι δὲ τὸ σφαφίον εἶδος κουρᾶς, καὶ Αριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ.

8. In Julius Pollux, X. 171, the words πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου are quoted as a fragment of the Γῆρας. Brunck does the same, perhaps by a lapse of memory, as Seidler, in Disput. de Aristophanis fragmentis, p. 22, observes; for these words really occur in v. 448 of "The Acharnians:"—

Ἄτὰρ δεομαί γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου.

They may however have been also in the Γῆρας. Compare above, page 149.



In order to complete the notice upon the *Γῆρας* of Aristophanes, contained in this volume, I have here subjoined a translation of Professor Dindorf's annotations upon that play, extracted from his "*Fragmenta Aristophanis*. Lipsiæ, 1827."

FROM
THE FRAGMENTS OF ARISTOPHANES,
EDITED
BY WILLIAM DINDORF.

ΓΗΡΑΣ.

IN the year 1827 Professor Süvern published a learned commentary on the argument and plan of this play. I shall extract from it for my present purpose all which is not founded on conjecture, and which may fairly be collected from the fragments which exist. In the first place I think that Süvern is right in saying that the choros was composed of old men, who are supposed to have cast off old age, as serpents do their skin, which skin was also called by the Greeks γῆρας, by an invention similar to that, by which we see Demos in "The Knights," after he has undergone the process of boiling, freed from his inveterate evil practices. When this is done, the old men seem to have given various proofs of the petulance and licentiousness of their youth, some instances of which still survive in the fragments. Hence it is probable that the purport of this play was the same as that of "The Knights," that not only should the vices of the people of Athens be

exhibited, but that the means of getting rid of them by a humorous device should be held forth to view ; nor does there seem to have been any great interval of time between the two plays : so that it was perhaps really the poet's ninth dramatic performance, as Süvern has shown in p. 167, although he has made use of an evidence which I have disproved in my note on the eighth fragment.

I.

Athenaios, III. p. 109, f. Κριβανίτην. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ· ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἄρτοπώλιν διηρπασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γῆρας ἀποβαλόντων (codices ἀποβαλλόντων).

α. Τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα ; β. θερμοὺς ὦ τέκνον.

α. ἀλλ' ἢ παραφρονεῖς ; β. κριβανίτας ὦ τέκνον.

So it is in the Venetian MS. Others have κριβανίτας πάνυ δὲ (or δὲ πάνυ) λευκοὺς ὦ τέκνον· which appear to have been interpolated from the words of the epitome, κριβανίτας δὲ λευκοὺς ἄρτους Ἀριστοφάνης ποῦ φησί.

II.

Athenaios, VII. p. 287, d. Βεμβράδες — Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρᾳ·

Ταῖς πολιοῦχρωσι βεμβράσιν τεθραμμένη.

III.

Pollux, VI. 69. Ὅδ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ λέγει

Ὅξωτὰ, σιλφιωτὰ, βολβὺς, τεύτλιον,

περίκομμα, θρίον, ἐγκέφαλος, ὀρίγανον.

The Falckenburg MS. has ὑποτρίκομμα, that is, ὑπό-τριμμα. Diogenes Laertius, IV. 18, de Polemone, ἦν οὖν ἀστεῖος τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρηγημένος ἃ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου (:), ὁξωτὰ καὶ σιλφιωτὰ, ἅπερ, ὡς αὐτοὺς φησι,

Καταπηγοσύνη ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα.
Menage implies by his commentary the vulgar sense of κρέας μέγα. He also adduces, in reference to καταπηγοσύνη, the gloss of Hesychius, Καταπηγοσύνη· ἡδονὴ μεγάλη.

IV.

Pollux, IV. 180. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γήρα φησὶν
ὀφθαλμιάσας πέρυσιν εἴτ' ἔσχον κακῶς,
ἔπειθ' ὑπαλειφόμενος παρ' ἱατρῶ.
εἴτ' ἔσχον] ἐπέσχων in the Falckenburg MS.

V.

Pollux, IX. 39. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων οἰκίαι καὶ συνοικίαι καὶ οἰκίας περιδρομος, ὡς ἐν τῷ Γήρα Ἀριστοφάνης

Ἐπὶ τοῦ περιδρόμου στάσα τῆς συνοικίας.

The same writer, VII. 125, adduces this passage on account of the word περιδρομος, where ἐκ is written for ἐπὶ, and the οἰκίας of the old editions is corrected from MSS.

VI.

Pollux, X. 74. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Γήρα ἔφη

Ὑδρίαν δανείζειν πεντέχουν ἢ μείζονα,

ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶνου ἂν εἴη ἀγγεῖον ἢ ὑδρία. Ἐφη is a correction of Bentley in the letter to Hemsterhuis, p. 97. The vulgar reading is ἐφ'.

VII.

Pollux, X. 104. Ἀριστοφάνους γοῦν ἐν Ἰππεῦσιν ὁ μάγειρος λέγει “ μαχαιρίδων τε πληγὰς ” ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Γήρα ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς ἔιρηκε

Κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν.

VIII.

Grammaticus Bekkeri, I. p. 449, 14. Απολο-

γίσασθαι καὶ ἀπολογίζεῖν τὸ ἐπεξελεῖν ἕκαστα. Ἀριστοφάνης (ἐν τῷ θ') Γήρα

Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπολογίζεῖν τε κἄτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώκων.

Süvern thinks that the commentator added the words ἐν τῷ θ' from an old didaskalia, in order to signify that this was the poet's ninth comedy. But it is extraordinary that such a useless notice should occur to him, for which not one of the numerous dramatic passages quoted by the commentators from the works of this poet offer any authority. It seems to be much more probable that the commentator had written simply Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα, omitting, as was frequently the case, both the preposition and the article, and that the ἐν τῷ θ' were erroneously introduced into the text from the margin, having originally been applied to some other word, which in some more ancient critic it preceded or followed, such, for example, as ἀποσकुθίσαι, about which some explanation is offered, p. 435, 19, some persons having preferred the reading σκυτίζεῖν. Two similar passages from the same critic will suffice to show that this is not a rash hypothesis; in p. 394, 8, are these words: Ἀνδρακάς: τὸ κατὰ ἄνδρα χωρῆσαι ὁ Κρατῖνος ἐν βουκόλοις. Θουκυδίδης δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσον καὶ ἀντικείμενον. These last words about Thukydides belong to the interpretation of the word ἀντίπαλος, which is given in p. 408, 22. See Bloomfield on the Agamemnon of Aischylos, p. 309. There is a mistake which is no less evident in p. 352, 23. Ἀθήναζε: Πλάτων ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα Παρπενίδη. The passage in Plato is in the beginning of the Parmenides, but the words ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα are carelessly introduced from the explanation of some expression used by Homer. This then is one way of removing the three words ἐν τῷ θ'. But there is also another, namely, by striking out

the θ' , as the remanet of $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha$, erroneously written for $\gamma\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha$. We may entertain greater doubts respecting the words here attributed to the poet, which must be either defective or corrupt. How is it credible that a commentator, who throughout his whole book took such care to quote no unfinished sentence of any writer, could have mutilated so inaptly this passage of Aristophanes? Although I see an easy way of correcting this line, ἐγὼ δ' (or ἐγῶδ') ἀπολογίζειν τε (or γε) καὶ τὰπ' ἀνθράκων, yet I think it more likely that a line has been omitted, which would have carried on the sense. The use of the active form of ἀπολογίζειν is also very remarkable, no other earlier example of which can I think be found than in a passage of Antiphanes preserved by Athenaios, III. p. 120, a.

Ἐλθὼν τε πρὸς τὸν τεμαχοπώλην περίμενε,
παρ' οὗ φέρειν εἶωθα, καὶ οὕτω τύχη
Εὐθυνοσ . . . ἀπολογίζων αὐτόθι

Χρηστόν τι, περίμεινον, κέλευσον μὴ τεμεῖν.

The active verb λογίζειν is frequently used by the later Greek writers.

IX.

Grammaticus Bekkeri, I. p. 449, 14. Ἀρχηγέται :
ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα

Ὁ δὲ μεθύων ἡμεὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας.

MS. ἡμεῖς, corrected by Bekker.

X.

Phrynichos, p. 367, ed. Lobeck. Διονύσιον (or Διονυσεῖον) : ἀπαίδευτον οὕτω λέγειν, δεόν βραχύνειν τὴν σι συλλαβὴν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκτείνοντες παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀττικῶν διάλεκτον λέγουσι. χρὴ οὖν Ἀριστοφάνει ἀκολοθοῦντας λέγειν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Γήρα φησὶ

α. Τίς ἄν φράσειε ποῦ ᾽στι τὸ Διονύσιον;

β. ὅπου τὰ μορμολυκεῖα προσκρημάννυται.

V. 1, Διονύσιον] The 19th fragment of the Gerytadai offers another example. V. 2, Etymolog. M. p. 590, 52. Μορμουλκεῖον προσπερισπᾶται. ἔστι προσωπεῖον ἐπίφοβον. Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα. Süvern has treated of these lines in p. 19 of his Essay. See above, p. 160.

XI.

Priscian, XVIII. vol. ii. p. 226, ed. Krehl. (1191, Putsch.) The Attic writers said ὀλίγας ἡμέρας for ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις: Similiter nos. Aristophanes Γήρα. “Σὺ δ’ οὐχ ἡγῇ μ’ οὖν δὴ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.” Tegern. MS. ΓΗΡΑΥCΥΔΟΥCΗΜΕΡΑC. Munic. MS. ΓΕΡΑΥCΥ ΔΟΥΧ ΗΓΗΙΜΟΥ ΗΔΗ ΟΛΙΓΑC ΕΜΕΡΑC. Meineke, and Süvern, p. 149, saw that νῆ Δι’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας were the last words of a trimeter iambus; but nothing has yet been satisfactorily conjectured about the preceding syllables.

XII.

The scholiast on “The Knights,” v. 577. Στλεγγίς γὰρ ἡ ξύστρα, καὶ στλεγγιζόμενος, ἀποξνόμενος. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ Γήρα

Εἰ παιδαρίοις ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ σφαῖραν καὶ στλεγγιδ’ ἔχοντα.

The same is cited in the scholiast on Plato, p. 334, ed. Bekker. Photios, p. 537, 14, and Suidas in v. στλεγγίς.

XIII.

Athenaios, IV. p. 133, a. Ἐχρῶντο γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀναστόμωσιν βρώμασιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἀλμάσιν ἐλάαις, ἃς κολυμβάζας καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ἐν Γήρα φησὶν

ᾧ πρεσβῦτα πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς ἐρυπετεῖς ἑταίρας,
ἢ καὶ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας

στιφράς;

V. 2, I have added καὶ. Süvern has explained the passage in p. 158.

XIV.

Ailianos de N. A. XII. 9. Κίγκλος—μένιηται δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος τοῦδε Ἀριστοφάνης—ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ

Λόρδου κιγκλοβάταν ῥυθμόν.

The MSS. have κιγκλίοβάταν, which was corrected by Conrad Gesner. Compare the twelfth fragment of “The Amphiaräos.”

XV.

The scholiast on Nicander's Theriaca, v. 295. Βαῖδον δὲ πλόον νῦν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν πεζὴν, τὴν πορείαν—καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γήρᾳ γυναῖκα ποιήσας ἐπὶ ζεύγους ὄνων ὀχουμένην παρᾶγει τινὰ ἐρῶντα αὐτῆς, ἥ καὶ ἐρεθίζουσα φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν,

Ἀποπλευστεόν ἐπὶ τὸν νυμφίον, ᾧ γαμοῦμαι τήμερον. The common reading ἀπέπλεις τεδὸν was corrected by Toup in his Emend. vol. ii. p. 83, who, after his own fashion, deceiving himself and others, has forced the words into the iambic metre. The measure is glyconic, and the scholiast has omitted ἀλλ', or some such word. Brunck writes τήμερον for σήμερον.

XVI.

Photios, 256, 7. Μελιτέα (MS. μελιτέας) κάπρον : Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρᾳ λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐκράτης ἐπεὶ δασύς ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτον αὐτὸν ἔλεγον· ἢ ὅτι μυλῶνας (MS. μυλῶνα) εἶχεν, ἐν οἷς ἐτρέφοντο σῦς. Hesychios Μελιτεὺς κάπρος : τῶν γὰρ δῆμων sic MS. (Musurus proposes, without authority, τὸν γὰρ δῆμον). Μελιτεὺς ἐστι. καὶ σὺν αὐτὸν (MS. σὺν αὐτῷ) ἄντικρυς ἐκάλουν, ἴσως μὲν διὰ δασύτητα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρκτον αὐτόν φασι πολλαχοῦ, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὅτι μύλωνας ἐκέκτητο, ἐν οἷς σῦς ἔτρεφεν. See what Süvern has said on Eucrates, p. 152.

XVII.

Pollux, X. 61. Κληρωτήριον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ

τοῦ τόπου ἔοικεν εἰρησθαι τοῦνομα ἐν τῷ Γήρῳ Ἀριστοφάνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγείου ἂν ἐναρμόσειεν.

XVIII.

Harpokration, Σκαφίον: — ὅτι δὲ τὸ σκαφίον εἶδος κουράς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρῳ.

XIX.

Harpokration, Τῆτες: ἀντὶ τοῦ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει— Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρῳ.

XX.

Antiatticista of Bekker, p. 102, 15. Καταλαλεῖν: Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρῳ. Pollux, II. 125, quotes καταλαλεῖν from Aristophanes without the name of the play. Καταλαλῶν is in v. 760 of "The Frogs." It is a question whether the critic did not quote the Γῆρας instead of "The Frogs:" see page 19 of my Essay on the number and on the names of the plays of Aristophanes. There is a mistake of this kind in Pollux, X. 173, which is less doubtful, where he has quoted, as from the Γῆρας, πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου, which are in "The Acharnians," v. 423. Finally, Süvern, p. 153, 154, has restored to this play a line concerning Kleon, which is twice quoted by Plutarch without the name of the poet, Nic. c. 2, and Moralia, p. 807, a. γερονταγωγῶν κἀναμισθαρεῖν διδοῦς. In which however there are no grounds for attributing it to Aristophanes more than to Eupolis, or to any other poet of that time. But Süvern is right in censuring Kuster and others, who fancied that these words were incorrectly quoted by Plutarch from the 1099th line of "The Knights," γερονταγωγεῖν κἀναπαιδεύειν πάλιν.

1 h. 211.

ESSAY

ON

“THE BIRDS” OF ARISTOPHANES,

BY

J. W. SÜVERN.

TRANSLATED BY

W. R. HAMILTON, F. R. S.

“ ‘The Birds’ is a singular performance, even among the eccentricities of Aristophanes, into which the poet has contrived to weave an innumerable quantity of allusions, quaint fancies, and pleasantries, such as no person but himself, we think, could have furnished. It is, however, amongst the least pleasing of the poet’s performances, because it wants a central object, and notwithstanding what the commentators say about Deceleia, the *scopus dramatis* is rather uncertain.”—*Quarterly Review*, March, 1813.

LONDON :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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P R E F A C E.

THIS essay on "the Birds" of Aristophanes was read in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin on the 19th and 26th days of July, 1827, and the contents of it soon became generally known to the literary public in Germany. It was not, however, published in the Transactions of the Society before the appearance of their volume for 1830.

In the interval it had attracted the notice of some of the learned author's contemporaries, and the reader will find his replies to their criticisms in the appendix to this volume.

In laying the translation of the essay before the English public, the translator confines himself to the expression of his own earnest conviction that Professor Süvern has fully and completely succeeded in proving the proposition he has advanced; and he feels confident that, though some minor points may be objected to, this conviction will be felt by all who will take the trouble to read the essay, and to try the truth of its contents by a frequent reference to the play itself, and to the authorities quoted by the writer.*

* Compare also the whole of the third section of the eighteenth chapter of Mitford's History of Greece.

The following table of the most remarkable events connected with classical history, which occurred during the time that Aristophanes was before the Athenian public, as a comic poet, may not be unacceptable to the reader; the details of the table are entirely taken from Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*.

Supposed age of Aristophanes.	Play exhibited.	Olympiad.	Year, A. C.	Archon at Athens.	Prize obtained by Aristophanes.	Year of the Peloponnesian war.	Public events, &c.
19	Δαιταλεῖς.	88—1	427	Diotimos.	2	5	Re-conquest of Lesbos. Surrender of Plataia. Sedition at Korkyra. Gorgias' first embassy from Leontinoi to Athens.
20	Βαβυλώνιοι. ἐν ἄστει.	88—2	426	Eukles.		6	Lustration of Delos.
21	Ἀχαρνεῖς.	88—3	425	Euthydemos.	1	7	Sphakteria occupied and surrendered to Kleon.
22	Ἰππεῖς.	88—4	424	Stratokles.	1	8	Battle of Delion. Amphipolis taken by Brasidas.
23	Νεφέλαι. (α)	89—1	423	Isarchos.	3	9	Banishment of Thucydides. Truce for one year.
24	Σφῆκες.	89—2	422	Ameinias.	2	10	Deaths of Kleon and Brasidas. Athenian citizens computed at 20,000.
24	Νεφέλαι. (β) (ἐν ἄστει.)	89—2	422	Ameinias.		10	Death of Kratinos.
25	Εἰρήνη.	89—3	421	Alkaios.		11	Truce for 50 years.
26		89—4	420			12	Treaty with Argos.
			418			14	Alcibiades commands an Athenian expedition into the Peloponnesus.
			416			16	Surrender of Melos.
			415			17	Expedition sails to Sicily.

Supposed age of Aristophanes.	Play exhibited.	Olympiad.	Year, A. C.	Archon at Athens.	Prize obtained by Aristophanes.	Year of the Peloponnesian war.	Public events, &c.
32	Ἀμφιάραος.	91—2	414	Chabrias.	2	18	Second campaign in Sicily.
32	Ὅρνιθες. κατ' ἄστυ. Γεωργοὶ?	91—2	414	Chabrias.	2	18	
35	Λυσιστράτη.	92—1	411	Kallias.		21	Government of the 400.
35	Θεσμοφοριαζούσαι.	92—1	411	Kallias.		21	Termination of the History of Thucydides.
38	Πλοῦτος. (α)	92—4	408	Diokles.			Alcibiades takes Byzantion.
41	Βάτραχοι.	93—3	406				Death of Euripides.
			405	Kallias.			Death of Sophokles.
							Battle of Aigospotamoi.
			404	Pythodoros.			Athens taken by Lyсандρος. Death of Alcibiades.
			403	Eukleides.			Thrasyboulos drives out the 30 tyrants.
54	Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι.	96—4	401	Xenainetos.			Retreat of the 10,000.
			399	Aristokrates.			Death of Socrates.
			392	Demostratos.			The Lacedæmonians invade Corinth under command of Agesilaos.
60	Πλοῦτος. (β)	97—4	388	Antipatros.			Chabrias sails for Kypros to assist Euagoras.
	The Κώκαλος and the Ἀιολοσίκων were exhibited about this time under the name of Araros, son of Aristophanes.	98—1	387	Theodotos.			Peace of Antalkidas.
		98—4	384	Diotrephes.			Birth of Aristotle.
		99—2	382	Euandros.			First campaign of Olynthian war.
							Birth of Demosthenes.
		105—1	359	Kallimedes.			Accession of Philip.

THE ARGUMENT

OF

“ THE BIRDS ” OF ARISTOPHANES.

Two Athenians come upon the stage, each with a bird on his shoulder ; they are disgusted with the vices and follies of their own country, and are in search of another. The oracle has told them that these birds, a crow and a jackdaw, will be their best guides to Tereus, who was once King of Thrace, and having married Progne, daughter of Pandion, King of Athens, was, according to the well known story, changed into a Hoopoe for his cruelty to his wife, and to her sister Philomela.

The principal of these Athenians is called Peisthetairos, his companion, Euelpides.

Having reached the abode of Tereus, or the Hoopoe, (Epops) Peisthetairos, having opened his views to him, and gained his good will, proposes to him a scheme by which the birds may resume that dominion over the world which belonged to them before the existence of the gods. Epops is pleased with the project, and summons an assembly of the birds that it may be laid before them.

The birds enter, and a selection of them form the chorus of the play.

They at first are very indignant at men, their natural enemies, having been admitted amongst them, but are soon soothed by the flattering expressions of Peisthetairos, and the ambitious views he opens to them.

He now lays before them the details of the scheme, the advantages they will derive from it, and how easy it will be for them to starve the gods, unless they come into their terms.

The birds address the spectators on the prospect opened for the resumption of their old dominion, and on the increased happiness which would accrue to mankind, if they would reject the supremacy of the gods.

Peisthetairos and Euelpides having left the stage for a time, return disguised as birds.

A consultation is held between them and Epops as to the naming of the new city of the birds, which they agree shall be called Nephelokokkygia, on the patron deity of it, and on the possession of the *πελαργικὸν*, or citadel.

These points being settled, Peisthetairos gives direction to the birds, how they are to proceed in the building of the city; and he sends for a priest for the performance of the necessary sacrifices.

Whilst this is going on, a poet comes in to celebrate the magnificence of the city, and the glory of the founder. He is contemptuously dismissed with a cloak and tunic to cover his rags.

A soothsayer succeeds him, with prophecies, but is ill-treated by Peisthetairos: as are successively a surveyor, who wants to measure and lay out the new streets, an *Ἐπίσκοπος*, or inspector, to see that all is in proper order, and a vender or promulgator of decrees, to give them a code of laws.

The birds again chaunt the glories of their new existence, and the good they will do to mankind.

On the return of Peisthetairos to the stage, which he had left to look after the sacrifices, a herald announces to him that the city is built, and describes how the birds had brought it about. Another brings the news that a messenger from the gods had been seen flying through the city, which turns out to be Iris sent by Jupiter to mankind to bid them not leave off their sacrifices. She is taken by a party of birds sent in pursuit of her, and brought on the stage.

Iris denounces the vengeance of Jupiter on Peisthetairos.

Peisthetairos, when he had ordered the city to be built, had sent a herald to the men to bid them no longer sacrifice to the gods.

The herald being returned, compliments him, and having enumerated the changes which had taken place among mankind since the new order of things, he tells him that several persons are coming from the men to be fledged, or plumed.

Immediately a great basket of wings of various sorts of birds is prepared for the different characters.

The first who makes his appearance is a parricide, who observes that birds kill their parents; but Peisthetairos prevails

on him to take a cock's wings, &c. &c. and go and fight the battles of his country in Thrace.

He is followed by a dithyrambic poet, who wishes to become a nightingale, and gives specimens of bombastic poetry.

A sycophant requests to be supplied with wings to enable him to fly to and fro' between the islands and Athens, and thus lay his informations against the rich with impunity.

Peisthetairos, indignant at the evil purposes to which the wings are to be put, refuses them, and will receive no more applications.

After some choral songs allusive to the preceding scene, Prometheus comes slinking in under an umbrella, to avoid being seen by Jupiter, and tells Peisthetairos that it is all over with the gods, that they are nearly starved to death, and that Jupiter has sent ambassadors to him to treat for terms; but he recommends him, on his old friendship for mankind, not to treat but on condition that the sceptre of dominion be given up to the birds, and that Jupiter give to him (Peisthetairos) his daughter Basileia in marriage.

The three ambassadors make their appearance: Neptune, Hercules, and Triballos.

Peisthetairos knowing the good appetite of Hercules immediately prepares a dinner, and the prospect of it soon induces the ambassador to come into his terms. Triballos, who seems to know nothing at all about the business, sides with him, and Neptune, who had opposed both the demands, seeing himself outvoted, at length gives in.

Hercules invites Peisthetairos to go with them to Jupiter to receive his bride.

A choral interlude follows allusive to gluttony and the art of cheating.

A messenger enters descanting upon the splendour with which Peisthetairos is approaching on his car, accompanied by his bride Basileia.

The bride and bridegroom make their appearance, and are greeted by the nuptial songs and dances of the choros.

PROFESSOR SÜVERN

ON

“THE BIRDS” OF ARISTOPHANES.

WHEN in the preface to my short essay on the *Γῆρας* of Aristophanes, I observed that we did not yet know the relation which the especial meaning of all his works bore to their political and historical import, I had particularly in view his comedy of “The Birds.” In this drama which I do not hesitate at once to declare to be the most ingenious and elaborate of all the works, which have been preserved to us, of this most inimitable comic writer, the subject matter is so delicately interwoven with its poetical dress, and is throughout so little prominent and striking, that we must not be surprised if the thread by which the meaning of this airy tissue is to be unravelled, has been easily overlooked or escaped notice; nor that most persons see in the poem little more than the sportive and ingenious indulgence of a lively witty humour, and a gay volatile fancy, in which a crowd of laughable circumstances, and every kind of nonsensical absurdity are loosely connected, and exposed in the course of an adventurous undertaking, itself the greatest folly of them all; and which may be only intended to show generally, what senseless notions man can entertain.

Professor Schlegel in his explanation of the play,¹ gives this view of the subject in terms still more explicit: He represents the comedy as "The most innocent buffoonery or farce, touching upon all subjects, gods as well as men, but without entering deeply into any, like a fanciful fairy-tale; though not without the philosophical purpose of taking as it were from above a bird's-eye view of the universality of things, our own representations being only true when considered in a human point of view." This is certainly the purest poetical conception of the poem, nor am I at all inclined to dispute it; I would rather state it as a proof of the fine construction and masterly perfection of the piece, in presenting to us the possibility of forming and maintaining such a simple and independent conception; though when we reflect on the prevailing application of the whole of the old comedy to the life and manners, the sayings and doings of Athens itself, we must still doubt whether it was equally the object of Aristophanes.

Those interpretations will certainly be more conformable to the known views of the poet, which bring this drama also within the range of that application; and which further admit, that he purposed to exhibit to the public eye a view of the extreme corruption, perversity, and vanity (like that of the project of the birds) of the Athenian life and manners in general; particularly the licentiousness of the demagogues, and the light-heartedness with which the people, ever intent only on the extension of their dominion, and inflated by their prosperity, allowed themselves to be carried away to new and adventurous schemes by the persuasive eloquence of this

¹ Lectures on the Art and History of Dramatic Writing. Part I. p. 311, 313.

class of men ; and either to enjoin them a complete revolution of moral habits and constitution, and even of their whole style of thinking and living, or to convince them that no safety could exist in a state a prey to such mad folly!² The truth of this view is so far undeniable, as it was essential to the old comedy, that no one of its productions could be conceived, without a lively reference to the state of existence and of society in Athens ; and the supposition could only be considered extravagant, if it led to the conclusion that Aristophanes had wished to point out to his fellow citizens by means of "The Birds," that nothing was left for them but to abandon their city and to build a new one elsewhere.³ Nor can we indeed deny to this last notion of the play, taken as it is from a general view of the Athenian republic⁴ (in conformity to which, the poet wished to exhibit the gradual dissolution of the old principle of the constitution into the arbitrary despotism and will of one individual, and the absorption of the national sovereignty in the sovereignty of one,) that it is entirely founded, as well on the esoteric history of Athenian life, as on the ideas ever entertained by Aristophanes, and on the drama itself. Nor is it impossible that the poet in this work was conscious to himself of such a general object, as well as of that which he had more

² The Grammarian in one of the old arguments of the play. Beck's Comment. on the plays of Aristophanes, III. p. 359.

³ Beck's preface to the "The Birds," p. 2. He has, however, in other works withdrawn this opinion. Compare Manso in the Supplements to Sulzer, P. VII. p. 123.

⁴ H. Th. Röttcher in his *Dissertatio de Aristophanei ingenii principio*. Berlin, 1825, and more at length in the Essay entitled "Aristophanes and his Times," p. 386, which was published after this treatise had been completed.

especially in view. But if, as is the case in the present instance, indications which cannot be misunderstood point directly to the supposition of a special object, we must not be satisfied with having established a general one; because the full understanding of the piece, as well in its own proper existence and form, as also in its individual attack on the life and circumstances of the people and of the republic, is only then possible, when we clearly understand the former, and when we perceive that the poet has so linked together the two, and has melted them so completely into one another, that it is difficult to say which was his primary, and which his secondary object; but from this alone can we form a just appreciation of his art. It would therefore in no way contribute to a scientific enquiry into antiquity, if we were to reject⁵ all attempts to discover the special reference of a comedy to something external and tangible; and least of all is there any ground for such rejection in respect to the drama now under consideration.

For in truth the artificial substruction, i. e. the fable of the play, the fantastic project, into which the birds allow themselves to be talked, namely, the building up of the airy space between the earth and the seat of the gods, in order to cut off all communication between the gods and men, with the view of making both dependent upon the birds, and thus to recover their old dominion over the world, does in fact reign too predominantly over the whole progress of the story, to allow us to consider it, in reference to the deep design, which is evident in all the poems of Aristophanes, as the mere channel of

⁵ Rüttscher Dissert. in Aristoph. p. 73.

a general satire on the state and people of Athens. All the incidents of the drama tend, first to introduce the proposal of that project, then to make it agreeable to the birds, who were at first violently opposed to its authors, to carry through and confirm the resolution for its adoption, to make it known to those who were interested in it, to superintend its execution, to set aside the obstacles which interrupted the sacrifices necessary for its completion to develop its effects, which are becoming on all sides apparent, and thus to bring about its final result; so that the whole story in all its parts which are admirably connected with one another, turns upon this one enterprize. If now we reflect that the fable of "The Acharnians," "The Peace," "The Lysistrata," "The Ecclesiazousai," "The Frogs," fanciful as they all are, possess also, each its historical sense, which becomes evident in the progress of the several stories, that "The Clouds," although the general object of that drama be, like that of "The Birds," intelligible of itself, is still linked to certain definite real events of the time, we cannot rest satisfied with the belief, that the story set forth in the conduct of this piece can have only a general, although a political meaning; and we are the more forcibly impelled to search after the design of the poet, in the hopes of thereby being able to explain the most important and essential features in the conduct of the story, which though at first sight they may appear to be quite general, have still in all probability their especial application.

The only attempt which has hitherto been made to answer this question, is that which makes Aristophanes to have had in view, as the foundation of the story of "The Birds," the fortification of

Deceleia by the Spartans ; so that the poet may have meant by the undertaking of the birds, either the actual fortification, which cut off from the Athenians all their continental alliances, or the counsel which Alcibiades gave in Sparta to this effect, or merely the prospective danger of such a plan.⁶ But the first, viz., the actual fortification of Deceleia, is put out of the question by a reference to dates ; as this event took place in the third year of the 91st Olympiad ; whereas, "The Birds" was represented according to the Didascalia in the second year of that Olympiad.⁷ And this without taking into consideration, that no real purpose could be answered by a dramatic representation founded upon that fact ; as the effect of the fortification of Deceleia was too sensibly felt by the Athenians, for them to require to be thus roused to oppose it. The advice of Alcibiades also though given in Sparta in the second year of the 91st Olympiad,⁸ could not have been known in Athens when "The Birds" was exhibited there. Moreover that event is quite insufficient to explain the whole allegory of "The Birds." In that view the birds must have represented the Spartans, which is quite at variance with all the characteristics attributed to them in the piece. This supposition is also belied by the fact, that the fortification of Deceleia interrupted the communication of the Athenians with the neighbouring continent only, whilst it left open to them that by sea, whence they were furnished with all their supplies.⁹ This event there-

⁶ See the several authorities for these explanations in Beck's *Comment. on Aristoph. III.* p. 361.

⁷ Thucyd. VII. 19, 27. Compare Morus on Xenophon's *Hellenics*, I. 1, 33. Beck, I. c.

⁸ Thucyd. VI. 91, 93. Beck, I. c.

⁹ Beck's *Preface to the Birds*, I. c.

fore would have been obscurely represented by "the Birds," and the warning intended by the comedy must have been quite unintelligible to the people.

In order then to explain the story of the piece, and thereby to recover the key of it, we must evidently set out with the question, whom are we to understand by the parties implicated in the enterprize? whom by the birds who undertake it? whom by the gods, and by the men who are affected by it? On this will hang the other question respecting the person of its author and conductor.

In the attempt which I am making to reply to these questions, and thus to explain the especial sense of the drama as a whole, (since we are altogether without any positive notices in the antient writers upon the subject) I can only establish such a degree of conviction, as can be obtained from a complete and exact comparison of internal signs with historical evidences, and by a logical conclusion from those premises. Here however a peculiar difficulty immediately presents itself in the solution of the principal question; for though the distinguishing peculiarities of the three parties are visible enough, and crowd upon us especially in the statements, with which Peisthetairos first opens the project to the Epops (v. 181-194, Ed. Dindorf.) and then explains it to the birds (v. 550-569), yet these are afterwards in many parts so intermingled with one another, that they nearly disappear altogether, and thus the import of each becomes obscured.

The birds are so depicted that we cannot but recognize in them a picture of the Athenian people. The departure of Peisthetairos and his companion from Athens is signified by a flight, (v. 35. ἀνεπτόμεσθ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμφοῖν ποδοῖν) that is, by

something peculiar to birds. The first counsel with which this personage opens his proposal to the Epops, namely that the birds should no longer flutter about with open beaks, κεχρηνότες (v. 166) reminds us most pointedly of the propensity, so often declaimed against by others as well as by Aristophanes, of a people ever thoughtlessly gazing about with open mouths¹⁰ in the assemblies ; for which the Athenians were wittily nicknamed in the “knights” (v. 1262) κεχρηναῖοι. In the fickleness of the birds too, in their fondness for all new and subtle refinements, (v. 255. sq. 317. sq. 321. sq. 430 sq.) in their partiality for projects, which however adventurous like that of Peisthetairos, flattered their vanity and views of dominion, in the reckless levity with which they admitted as citizens foreigners and runaway slaves, (v. 760 sq.) in their daily occupation from an early hour with laws and decrees, (v. 1285 sq.) in the pride which their young men took in beating and defying their parents, and in other habits of the birds, he who is well acquainted with the satire of Aristophanes, and the character of the Athenians, can see only a direct satire upon this people, and upon the follies and abuses peculiar to them. Many single traits also, not directly derived from the light existence and nature of birds, but rather tacked on to them, as, for example, the conclusion of the form of Dedication of the city of the birds, αὐτοῖσι καὶ χίοισι, (v. 877,) the transplanting among the birds of the φυλὴ Κεκροπίς (v. 1407), the picturesque description which Trochilos makes of his master the Epops, as of a citizen of Athens, whose greatest treat is his porridge and gudgeons, show distinctly that by the birds, by whom and

¹⁰ Acharn. 30. Equitt. 62, 396, 764, 956, 1118. Vesp. 21, sq. Ran. 1016, sq.

amongst whom every thing is done, Aristophanes meant to paint no other than his own fellow citizens; and the selection of the Minerva Polias, as the patron goddess of the new city of the birds, (v. 828. sq.) and the taunts directed against the city (not in the sense of the poet, but only put into the mouth of Euelpides,) in which a goddess is clothed in the armour of a man, and men become women, all this makes it impossible not to see the connection between the undertaking of the birds, and Athens, whose frequent epithet *Λιπαρόν* (v. 826) is given also to the new city in the air.¹¹

The project and proposals of Peisthetairos at once announce the men as different from the birds; and if these are to represent the Athenians, the others must have a distinct signification. For according to v. 184 sq., when the birds shall have encircled the horizon with a wall, and thus laid the foundation of a city in the air between the gods and the men, the birds are to reign over the latter as if these were grasshoppers, and to starve the former like the inhabitants of Melos. In v. 554 sq. the birds are to claim back from Jupiter their old dominion, and if he refuse it to them, they are to declare war against him, and at the same time to send to the men a herald who shall announce the sovereign dominion of the birds, and demand their acknowledgement of it. All this is done. The herald on his return (v. 1277 sq.) announces the readiness with which mankind accede to the demand, and are resuming the laws and manners of the birds from whom they had seceded; and he notifies the approaching arrival of a large body of men, eager to be plumed and admitted amongst the birds, and of these some

¹¹ *Λιπαραί* 'Αθήναι. Spanheim on "The Clouds," 299.

of the chief deputies are forthwith admitted. (v. 1337, sq.)

But here a good deal is predicated of men, and much is attributed to them, which evidently belongs to, and has reference to the Athenian people. Peisthetairos and Euelpides, though in v. 30 sq. and v. 106 they had emigrated from Athens, must according to v. 320 have come from the men. To the men are ascribed the general faults of mankind, viz. falsehood and cunning, (v. 158 and 451) eagerness for lucre and wealth, base and selfish propensities, which are the springs of all their actions, and upon which is grounded also the plan for restoring their former state of subjection to the birds. But other traits, such as their superstitious respect for auguries, which makes them dependent upon the birds (v. 499 sq. 708 sq.), and with which indeed the play opens, and the needy vermin who present themselves at the sacrifice and as candidates for admission into the city of the clouds, are derived from the Athenians. (v. 904 sq. 1021 sq.) Prometheus who sneaks like a traitor from the gods to the birds, boasts (v. 1545) that he was always well disposed towards mankind; and Peisthetairos who has been placed at the head of the birds, acknowledges the compliment in the character of a man; as in an earlier part of the play (v. 610) Euelpides had also dropped from the character of a bird into that of a man. Thus birds and men seem here also to be blended together in their signification.

The gods against whom the project of the birds is peculiarly directed, and who are introduced as a party decidedly distinct both from the birds and from the men, are nevertheless as birdlike and as human, as if there were no real difference between them and the other two parties. Their descent from

the birds gives them a birdlike nature (v. 574 sq. 693), they are like men, voluptuous, (v. 556) sensual, selfish and greedy, (v. 1583 sq. 1606 sq. 1637) and cannot on that account do without the men and their sacrifices, (v. 190 sq. 1230 sq. 1516 sq.); they are therefore like them dependent on the birds; like men too they have traitors amongst them, (v. 1494 sq.) their ambassadors concern themselves very little about the common weal, only look to their own personal advantage, suffer themselves to be cajoled, have no common feeling, and from all these motives give the advantage to the opposite party. (v. 1565 sq.) Neptune ascribes the choice of such ambassadors to the Athenian democracy, (v. 1570) which had been transplanted amongst the gods, and which (see "the Acharnians" v. 61 sq.), was frequently no less cheated by its ambassadors; and according to the proof which Peisthetairos gives to Hercules, that he could not hereafter be the heir of his father Jupiter, (v. 1649 sq.) the laws of Solon prevail in Olympus as well as in Athens. Here then likewise characteristic traits, which in one point of view are distinct from, nay even in opposition to each other, are again confounded together.

Indeed to complete the confusion, the birds themselves, in whom fundamental characteristics of the Athenian manners and constitution are satirized, have also such praiseworthy and excellent qualities, that in many of these they are evidently brought forward as models for the Athenians, as the beau ideal indeed for the whole world, which is pictured in the drama, consequently also for themselves. The two emigrants apply to them, to escape from the passion for traffic and litigation which prevails in Athens. (v. 32, 110, 114 sq.) The licentious desires, which they wish to have gratified, are strongly

reproved by the Epops (v. 143); the birds live free from care, without money and without falsehood (v. 117 sq. 156 sq.), content with little food, and in their leafy abodes; (v. 159, 162 sq. 1078 sq.) and their simplicity is contrasted with the cunning and roguery of men. (v. 451 sq.) The holy laws of old times prevail amongst them, which men, and particularly the Athenians fearlessly despise; (v. 1353 sq.) Wisdom, gentleness, and tranquillity reign in their city, a praise which the Athenian was doubtless disposed to refer to his own. They raise themselves freely upon the wing, and float afar over land and sea, looking down upon the manifold follies of men; (v. 118 sq. 1458, 1470 sq. 1553 sq. 1694 sq.) and in the splendid parabasis above all, the toilsome, feeble race of man, in the depth of misery, is contrasted with the free, light, and ethereal family of the birds. (v. 685 sq.) There they appear as original eternal beings, contemplating immortality; compared with them gods and men are nothing, and their loveliest songs resound through and enliven the universe.

No wonder then that this intricate confusion has thrown a veil over the fundamental idea of the poem, and has led to the opinion, that the author had merely in view a general satire on mankind, on the notions and relations of man, though with a special reference to the Athenian people. We shall not however be led astray by it, if we reflect on the one hand, that such confusion is quite appropriate and congenial to the roguish humour of comic poetry, which conceals its aim in the play of a perpetually shifting irony, and thereby makes a stronger impression upon those who see through it; and on the other, that we can easily distinguish what belongs to each of the three divisions, as a party implicated in

the undertaking, from that which is extraneous to it ; as for example in reference to the men, what belongs to them as one of those parties, and what to them as men ; and in reference to the birds, what properly belongs to them as parties in the action, what in virtue of the masks given to them, and what as they compose the chorus. We must also take with us, that the confusion which we observe, would naturally proceed from the object of the comedy ; it being necessary, at the period at which " *The Birds*" was brought out, that this object should be to a certain degree concealed. Whilst at the same time, with respect to the several parties engaged in the action, without impairing their fundamental diversity, it admitted of assimilating them in the course of working out the parts, and thus of satirizing the one by means of the others. The further development of our subject will prove that this preliminary exposition is well-founded.

If we now feel assured that in the continuous progress of the enterprize, to which the action is directed, the birds mean the Athenian people, the following question presents itself: what great undertaking of this people is thus symbolically portrayed by the construction of a city in the air, with a high wall taking in the whole horizon, begun and executed by the people of the birds, in order so to separate the gods from the men, that the latter may be obliged no longer to acknowledge the sovereignty of the gods, but that of the birds ; and that the gods losing their influence over mankind, and having no other way of receiving from them the tributary sacrifices, may be reduced to despair, and thus, as in a state of siege, be obliged by famine to capitulate with the birds and

to restore to them the sovereignty which was originally in their possession?

We can only suppose some great warlike undertaking, as that of the birds is directed against the gods in a warlike sense, and as a holy war is to be waged against them, if when the construction of the city in the air is completed, they should refuse their demands. (v. 555 sq. 1246 sq. 1588, 1591) The purpose of this undertaking must resemble that of the birds, and must mainly consist in the investing of a powerful state, the rival of Athens, and in cutting it off from others, over whom its influence and power extended. It must have the same object for the Athenians, as the undertaking of the birds has for them, namely, to humiliate such rival state and to obtain for themselves an extended dominion. It must be of a chimerical character, so that it may be represented as frivolous and fantastical, such as none but birds could have thought of; and it must have seized upon and excited all minds, as the birds were animated by their project. It must also be contemporary with the production of the play, and must have occupied the attention of every one at the time.

Now all this coincides with no other than the great Sicilian expedition, which took place in the first year of the 91st Olympiad (B. C. 415), in reference, however, be it understood, to the ultimate object of it, such as it floated in the imagination of Alcibiades and of his more intimate companions. This object was not limited to Sicily alone, but pointed first to the conquest of that island, and then to Italy, Carthage and Libya, in order to get possession of the resources of those countries, by which hitherto the Spartans

had in part profited;¹² and thus by ruling over the whole of the Mediterranean, as their own property and dominion, to surround, and, as it were to blockade the Peloponnesus, the seat and centre of the power of their rivals; by which means the Spartans, and with them the Peloponnesian alliance, cut off from all the rest of Greece, and deprived of all foreign aid, might be compelled to resign the *ἡγεμονία* to the Athenians. The other Greeks would be equally forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of Athens, and this state would be raised to the summit of power.

Thucydides is our principal authority and voucher for this contemplated extension and ultimate object of the Sicilian expedition: and Plutarch and the orators Aristides and Libanius coincide with the historian. I shall hereafter adduce the two last mentioned writers at a convenient opportunity. But in Plutarch are two passages, in which he speaks of the great extent of the Sicilian project. In the one¹³ he says, "Sicily was not considered as the object of the war, but merely as a point of departure (*ὁρμητήριον*) whence the struggle might be fought with the Carthaginians; and Libya with the sea coast as far as the pillars of Hercules might also be occupied." In the other he says, still more plainly, "Alcibiades¹⁴ looked upon Sicily, in relation to his plan, only as a beginning, not like others, as the object of the expedition; and whilst Nicias endeavoured to dissuade the people from it by the difficulty of conquering even Syracuse, Alcibiades, dreaming of Carthage and Libya, and with the accession of their resources, of Italy and Peloponnesus, which were now more than a match

¹² Thucyd. XI. 7.

¹³ Plutarch, Nic. 12.

¹⁴ Ib. Alcib. 17.

“for them, only viewed Sicily as a viaticum of war “(ἐφόδια).” The historian of the Peloponnesian war does not indeed state, as Plutarch does, that these extensive views and this ulterior object of the expedition were brought forward during the discussions; but he observes that Alcibiades most earnestly recommended the expedition, partly from a political jealousy of Nicias, and partly and especially (as the chief command was to be put into his hands) because he hoped by it not only to conquer Sicily but Carthage also, and if successful, to obtain for himself riches and honour.¹⁵ And Alcibiades, in the speech in which he defends the expedition against Nicias, indicates no more, than that the conquest of Sicily would probably lead to that of the whole of Greece by the Athenians.¹⁶ This reserve in a public harangue was no more than prudent, as it behoved him, in speaking of the enterprize which he wished to recommend, to avoid a premature disclosure of the progressive extension of it, which he had in contemplation, lest it should appear visionary and impracticable; and besides, there was no question as yet of renewing the war with Sparta. But in the following year, when Alcibiades had been recalled from the fleet, and summoned to take his trial on the accusation of having mutilated the statues of Mercury and of having profaned the mysteries, (which, however, he evaded and retired to Sparta,) he there, in order to decide the Spartans to declare war against Athens,

¹⁵ Thucyd. VI. 15. In the expression καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε εἰ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι. Grammatically, Alcibiades must be considered as the subject to λήψεσθαι: and we must with Bekker take αὐτοῦ in the neuter gender, referring it to the preceding στρατηγήσαι.

¹⁶ Thucyd. VI. 18 Καὶ ἄμα ἡ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν ἐκεῖ προσγενομένων, πίσεως τῇ εἰκότι ἄρξομεν.

an object in which the ambassadors of Corinth and Syracuse had failed, unfolded to them without reserve the whole extent of the plan, as it had existed in his own imagination, and in that of his party. In his speech to them on that occasion, he expressed himself in the following terms:¹⁷ “We sailed against Sicily, “in the first place, to subdue, if we were able, the “Sicilians, after these the Italians, and then to “make an attempt on the empire of the Carthaginians. If this should have succeeded, either in the “whole, or in great part, it was then our intention, “with this accession of power from the Greeks in “those quarters, and taking into our pay many barbarians, Iberians, and others, who are now considered the most warlike in that part of the world, “building many triremes in addition to our own, for “Italy produces timber in abundance, to attack the “Peloponnesus, and blockade the whole coast (τὴν Πελοπόννησον περίξ πολιορκουῦντες,) and by simultaneous assaults from the land side,¹⁸ taking some of the “cities by storm, and putting a check upon others by “contravallations, we conceived that we should soon “bring the war to a close, and extend our dominion “over the whole of Hellas (τοῦ ξύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ.) “To facilitate any portion of our undertaking, the “countries beyond the sea would have abundantly “furnished us with provisions and other necessities “of war, without your being able to go to their as-

¹⁷ Thucyd. VI. 90. sq. This is the principal passage on this subject. Luzac therefore (orat. de Socrate civ. p. 84.) ought least of all to have overlooked it, particularly as Plutarch, if indeed, as is probable, he followed Thucydides, in treating this subject, can only have had this passage in view.

¹⁸ Ἐφορμαῖς, as Bekker also reads, that is, from the Isthmus of Corinth.

“sistance. You have now learned the views with which this maritime expedition was sent forth, from the man who was best informed upon the subject; and all the other commanders will follow in the same line, if they have it in their power.” Having then shortly pointed out to the Spartans, how near the danger was to them, when not only Sicily, but Peloponnesus also was at stake, he advises them by the fortification at Deceleia, to place a counter-check in the country of the Athenians, and thus by preventing the execution of these projects, to break not only their present but their future power. The Spartans determined, upon reflection, to follow this advice, and also to send succours to Sicily. Thucydides does not express the smallest doubt, that such a project, (of which it might perhaps have been said that it had only been conjured up by Alcibiades, in order to excite the Spartans, by the impression which it would necessarily produce, instantly to declare war against the Athenians, and to vote for his proposals) had been really entertained; nor is it disputed in any of the antient writers; but on the contrary, it is alluded to by others, to the same extent. Nor indeed was it so totally unconnected with the earlier operations of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, that even these might not have led to it; for the annual maritime expeditions around the coasts of the Peloponnesus, which took place during the first half of the war in pursuance of the advice of Pericles, so nearly resembled a blockade of the country, with which indeed they were compared by Aristides,¹⁹ that they might easily have produced in fanciful minds, heated

¹⁹ Aristides pro quatuorv. Opp. II. p. 112. Jebb. “Ὅτι ἔτι εἰς τὴν πολιμίαν ἀπείχανε (Περικλῆς) καὶ ἀντιμεθίστη τῇ πελοποννήσῳ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὐ θήσομεν εἰς λόγον;

by ambition and a thirst for military glory, first the project of an uninterrupted blockade of the Peloponnesus, and then the preliminary measures which were necessary to arrive at that end.

Now, if we were to suppose this project to have so far succeeded, as to have attained its full effect according to the plan of Alcibiades; if the Athenian fleets had obtained the mastery of the Mediterranean, and if the Peloponnesus had been blockaded both by land and sea, the Spartans and their allies would really have been in the situation of the gods in "The Birds" of Aristophanes, *i.e.* in a state of siege, which while it shut them out from all those minor states, for the sovereignty over which they were contending with the Athenians, (ξύμπαν Ἑλληνικόν) would have subjected these without further effort to the Athenians, and would have forced the Spartans, if they would not expose themselves to a war of extermination, to capitulate with their enemies, and to resign into their hands the supremacy of Greece.

But even if the expedition against Sicily were an ill advised undertaking, not only in reference to the point at which it was aimed, but also as decidedly at variance with the wise advice of Pericles,²⁰ "that Athens should think more of strengthening and defending her existing possessions, than on enlarging them; and especially, with a view to success in the Peloponnesian war,"²¹ that she should seek only "to tire out and exhaust her enemy, embarking in no hazardous enterprize whatever with a view to

²⁰ Thucyd. II. 65. Καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆρσαν, κ. τ. λ.

²¹ Thucyd. I. 144. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἦν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἅμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι.

“conquest;” and if on that account it had always been rejected by that statesman,²² in opposition to the senseless current of popular opinion, which already in his time was setting in this direction; if it was an undertaking which, when it was afterwards entered upon, appeared to the most prudent statesmen, as Nicias, to be under existing circumstances in the highest degree dangerous;²³ and withal, if it was an enterprize which besides other favourable combinations, required above all things the greatest union at home;²⁴ how much more hazardous and extravagant does it appear, in the great extent in which it was embraced by Alcibiades and his party, and dependent as it was on the coincidence of so many preliminaries, which were not to be counted upon, and on arrangements, successes and results which would require such an enormous expenditure of force! Upon this subject Aristides, the Rhetorician, justly says, “²⁵I am persuaded you can alone, without aid, “subdue the Peloponnesians one by one, or all together; then again you can conquer Sicily without “difficulty, if you have only to contend with the

²² Plutarch. Peric. 20. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δούσπερος ἐκείνου ἤδη καὶ δούσποτος ἔρωσ εἶχεν, οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐξέκαυσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες. Ἦν δὲ καὶ Τέρβηνη καὶ Καρχηδῶν ἐρίοις ἄκαιοι οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος οὐδ' ἐν τῷ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπακτιμένης ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῇν ἐξουσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων. Ἀλλ' ὁ Περικλῆς κατέχευε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην, καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς ἐναντίας ἐτρέπεν εἰς φρεσὶν καὶ βεβαιώτητα τῶν ἐπαρχόντων. Comp. c. 17. init. Diodor. XII. 83. and particularly Aristid. orat. Plat. II. Opp. 11. p. 124.

²³ Thucyd. VI. 9, 14. Diod. XII. 83.

²⁴ Thucyd. II. 65.

²⁵ Aristid. orat. Sic. II. Opp. 1. p. 383. comp. Isocrat. de pace 29. Ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφροσύνης ἦλθον, ὥστε τῶν προαστείων τῶν ἰσχυρίων οὐ κρατοῦντες Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἄρξαι προσεόκησαν.

“ Sicilians. I say the same of Italy, that it cannot
 “ avoid falling into your hands, if you are at peace
 “ with all other states; but if you must go to war at
 “ the same time with the Peloponnesians, and with
 “ the inhabitants of Sicily, Greeks as well as barbar-
 “ ians, and in addition to these, with those also of the
 “ continent beyond, who will not fail to come to their
 “ assistance, I can no longer cherish this confidence,
 “ but I tremble at our visionary schemes; this sub-
 “ sidiary war might easily become of more importance
 “ to us than the principal affair, though we fancy that
 “ it will make Sicily, Italy, Carthage and almost the
 “ whole world subservient to us, and though we ex-
 “ pect with the aid of their resources to draw a circle
 “ round the Peloponnesus; (*ἴν’ αὐτοὺς δεῦρο κομίσαντες*
 “ *τὴν Πελοπόννησον περιστῶμεν*),¹⁶ but to me, O
 “ Athenians, and let no one be offended with me for
 “ it, it does appear that we ought in the first instance
 “ to do just the contrary; we should first sub-
 “ jugate the Peloponnesus, that with its assistance
 “ we may obtain the mastery over those remote
 “ countries; for we are more likely to effect this, by

¹⁶ I shall here give the passage from Libanius, *Apol. Socr. Opp.* III. p. 47. 19. sq. (Reiske Edit.) because he evidently refers to preceding writers, and his expressions are explained by them. He says, *‘Αλλ’ εἰ τοὺς ἀφαιροῦντας τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μυθεῖτε, τὰς γε προσθήκας πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐπανοίτε; Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴόνιον εἶδε νῆσον μεγάλην. Ὀρέχθη Σικελίας, ἐπεθέρμησεν Ἰταλίας, ἤλπισεν ἔξαι Λιβύην, ἔγνω παραστήναι Πελοπόννησιν τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπεθέρμησε λῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον τέλει καλῷ, καὶ προσπεσεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους, προσανέξῃσας (προανέξῃσας Bekker) τῇ πόλει τὴν ρώμην. Παραστήναι Πελοπόννησιν τὴν ἐσπέραν is implied also in the above quoted passage from Aristides, and also in the following from Thucydides: *ἦδη τῇ Πελοπόννησιν ἐμίλλομεν ἐπιχειρήσαντες κομίσαντες ὅμπασαν μὲν τὴν ἐκείθεν προσγενομένην δύναμιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους μυθωσάμενοι, καὶ Ἰβήρας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεί ὁμολογονμένως νῦν βαρβάρων μαχιμωτάτους.**

“ the previous subjugation of our neighbours, than
 “ to subjugate our neighbours by ill-timed and dis-
 “ tant attacks upon others.” Notwithstanding these arguments the great mass of the Athenian population having no clear notion of what they were going to undertake, even in reference to Sicily alone, and knowing nothing of the whole extent and difficulty of its ulterior object²⁷—the elders, in earnest confidence of its success, and of the additional power it would give to the state—the young from a love of action and the force of imagination—the crowd from a thirst after plunder and profit—all were so ardently excited and captivated by the idea,²⁸ that they sat together in the Gymnasia, in the market-places and in the work-shops,²⁹ drawing upon the sand plans of the island, of the surrounding sea, of its position with respect to Carthage and Libya, conversing upon the subject, and disputing on the part they were to act in it. The idea of the Sicilian expedition, with all the contingencies dependent upon it, and the hope that it might be carried into execution, did indeed make such a deep impression upon the Athenians, that its failure, and the series of misfortunes which followed thereupon, could not eradicate it from their minds; and the important victories obtained by Alcibiades shortly before his return to Athens, not only made them revert to it, but seemed to convince them, that the conquest of Sicily, and every thing else which they had expected from it, would have taken place, if they had left the conduct of it in his hands.³⁰ And as the expedition, which had set out

²⁷ Thucyd. VI. init.

²⁸ Plut. in Alcib. 17 Nic. 12. compare Thucyd. VI. 24.

²⁹ Plut. in Alcib. 17 says, ἐν ταῖς παιδείσιν καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέροις.

Tr.

³⁰ Plutarch. in Alcib. 32.

the year before the production of our drama, was just now at that period, when no unfavourable occurrence could have changed the public opinion respecting it, it still continued to be viewed with the most lively interest; and it strikes us therefore at first sight as most peculiarly fitted to be brought upon the comic stage, as a project of thoughtless and volatile birds,³¹ and thus affording, in an amusing form, a serious warning to the people. Nor are we without grounds for thinking that Aristophanes was the more disposed this way, as he had already directed his raillery against the first Sicilian expedition in the *Acharnians*, (v. 606) and in the *Wasps*; (v. 896 sq. 911 sq.) and aware as he was of the disposition of the people, he had not forgotten in the "*Peace*," (v. 2, 50) to make the dæmon *Polemos* launch out into threats against that island. It would indeed have been extraordinary, if a poet, whose comedies generally and severally have so decided a reference to the Peloponnesian war, had omitted to make such a great and important feature of that war, both in its origin and purpose, the object of a special representation.

This expedition then combines all the circumstances necessary for understanding the ground-work of our drama; and by a reference to it we easily perceive who are intended by the birds, who by the gods, and who by the men. The birds according to the advice of *Peisthetairos* (v. 166) are no longer to flutter about with open beaks; that is, the Athenians are no longer to waste their strength, thoughtless and planless, in multifarious pursuits, but are to

³¹ *Κουφορόων ὀρνίθων*. *Sophocl. in Antig.* 343.

found *one* city (αἷαν πόλιν, v. 172, 550) that is, to concentrate themselves with all their might on one fixed project.³³ This city is to take in the whole horizon; and as Peisthetairos (v. 176 sq.) directs the Epops to look down on the space to be occupied by this city, so does Demosthenes, in "The Knights," (v. 169) show to the sausage-seller the domain of the sovereignty conferred upon him, bidding him look down from his sausage-table upon the islands around, the commercial states, the merchant-ships on the high seas, as far as Caria to the south and Chalcedon to the north. If now instead of the horizon and the atmosphere in the play (v. 179, 180 sq. 193, 551, 1173, 1183 sq.) we represent to ourselves the expanded sea, and instead of the city to be built, we imagine the Athenian ships and fleets spread over it, the meaning of the allegorical picture will be so definite and satisfactory, that we shall not require any more precise indications. If we observe, too, that from the outset, the blockade (φράξιθ', v. 183) and the circumvallation (περιτειχίζειν, v. 552) of the atmosphere are particularly dwelt upon, and that afterwards the greatest importance is attached to the completion of the wall, which is circumstantially announced, we cannot hesitate to believe, that the city to be founded means nothing else, than the fleets, which are to be constructed from the resources of all conquered countries, and to command the whole Mediterranean sea, excluding everything, as if they were with a wall, from this maritime empire, and especially shutting in the Peloponnesus. Aristophanes may also have in-

³³ Compare Plutarch. Alcib. 17. Καὶ πείσας μὴ κατὰ μέρος μὴ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μέγαλον στόλον πλεῖσαντα ἐπιχειρῆν κατασβεσθαι τήν νῆσον.

tended to allude to the well known oracle of the wooden walls, delivered in the Persian war, and to the interpretation of it by Themistocles; but a still more striking resemblance to the picture selected by the poet is found in the idea of actually carrying a wall round the whole of Peloponnesus, which was entertained in the Persian war; for when the Peloponnesians, at the second invasion of Mardonius, were fortifying the isthmus of Corinth, the Athenians advised them rather *περὶ ἅπασαν Πελοπόννησον τεῖχος περιβαλεῖν*.³¹ And though in the construction of the wall in the play, the poet may speak of hewn stones, of bricks, of cement, of gates, and such like, no one will therefore, think of a real stone wall with wooden gates, but will readily conceive how all this belongs to the conduct of the allegory, which he has adopted. Aristophanes might fairly represent the Spartans and Peloponnesians, together with the principal states in alliance with them, as gods, as well on account of their general importance, as for the superiority in the balance of power, which was then leaning towards their side, of which more hereafter; and he might picture as men the other smaller dependent Greek states collectively, because they were the object of the struggle for dominion. And we thus clearly perceive how, in the hands of the comic poet, the three parties, which in their original import are separated by strong lines of distinction, come, without any illogical absurdity, to be confounded with one another in the progress of the story. They are all in fact of one stamp. They are all Greeks who act different parts in the main plot only, and in the action, which springs out of it; but in the rest they resemble each

³¹ Lysias. Epitaphi. 9.

other; and they are all objects of one satire, in reference to their dissensions, and to their other perversities and follies.

Thus then have we discovered the master-key of the play; and that it is so we shall further prove, as we proceed in explaining the outlines of it and its several details. But we must first observe that the poet has not anxiously laboured, to carry through this allegorical meaning, with a strict adherence to consistency, in all the particular points, but has only kept to it generally; frequently in single parts working up the individual picture of his choice in its own proper colours, and without reference to the original meaning, as, for example, in what has been observed respecting the wall: and as he has not scrupled to weave into it many subsidiary strokes of wit, raillery and good humour, and has given full scope to his own unbridled fancy, no less than to his profound good sense, we must not expect, from this explanation, a pedantic solution of every particular feature, in the sense which we have given to the whole drama. Should we, however, see here and there in particular passages, more than the poet may have implied, even this will be more satisfactory, than if we had failed in pointing out the connection between the really significative and essential parts of the drama, and its original motive.

Now Aristophanes has so managed his subject, as to exhibit the undertaking in all its forms, as a project altogether sophistical, as essentially a chimerical phantom, which none but a vain ambitious population of inflammable, giddy and volatile men could have been induced to pursue; and besides several serious admonitions which are scattered about here

and there, he clearly shows the selfish views in which it was conceived, and in the accomplishment of which it is likely to end.

He opens his subject by conducting two travellers, who declare that they have left Athens from a disgust at the incessant traffic in justice, with which men, judges as well parties, are there persecuted, (v. 39 sq. 109 sq.) into the presence of Tereus, who has been changed into a Hoopoo, (Epops) in order to learn from him, intimate as he is supposed to be with the lives of men and birds, where to find a city in which they may live quietly and pleasantly; (v. 115 sq.) by means of this picture, the dazzling idea of the enterprize in question is first suggested to the Epops. (v. 62 sq.) Enraptured with the project, he forthwith calls a general assembly of the birds, (v. 228) soon succeeds in soothing the wrath, which this admission of their human enemies amongst them had at first excited, (v. 325, 369) and lays before them the whole scheme. (v. 466 sq.) In this manner the poet at once transplants the project amongst that race and into that airy region, to which it naturally belongs, and the action opens with a stroke of deep irony. For whilst in fact he makes Peisthetairos and Euelpides go over from the Athenians to the Athenians, for these are denoted by the birds, he proceeds most gravely, as if he were introducing them to a totally distinct race, and into a perfectly unknown country, far away from Athens, (v. 6—11.) and in a tone of the utmost good humour, he mixes with his praises of Athens (v. 37. sq. 108) a light harmless satire on abuses elsewhere severely attacked by him; as for example, on the eternal traffic in law, and on the swarms of strangers admitted to the civic rights; (v. 31. sq.) and thus in fact he plays

with the people, under the flattering disguise of a poetry, whose real meaning could not escape the clear-sighted;³⁵ nay, I think I can show, with the highest degree of probability, that the scenery pointed to Athens itself as the theatre of action. This is directly indicated by the questions put by Peisthetairos, (v. 301) when Euelpides shows him the owl coming on with the other birds, *Τί φής; τίς γλαῦκ' Ἀθήνας ἤγαγε;*³⁶ and also by the words, *ἐγκεληκὼς ἐνθαῖ*, (v. 1455) the scene of the story is instantly, at least in imagination, referred to Athens. This supposition is further strengthened by another and more distinct and evident indication. Peisthetairos and Euelpides are conducted by the raven and the jay, whose warnings they are following, against rocks, (v. 20.) through which there is no thoroughfare; their travelling therefore must come to an end, fronting these rocks. Then Euelpides is told to knock at them, as an Athenian would knock at a house door, to announce himself to the Epops; upon which his servant Trochilos (v. 61.) first comes forth, and then the master himself, (v. 92.) when Trochilos has awaked him (v. 84.) from his mid-day slumbers; further on the Epops retires by the same way into his thicket, to call together the birds, (v. 204, 209) and afterwards again comes forth from the same quarter; (v. 270)

³⁵ The *παῖδες*, or *ἰεῖναι* as he sometimes calls them, thus, indeed, flattering the whole public with the compliment. E. g. *Nubes*. v. 521, 526, *Vespæ*. v. 1049, &c.

³⁶ The earlier critics marked this passage with an asterisk, supposing the scene not to be in Athens, and as if it should be *ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*, not *εἰς Ἀθήνας*. But the Scholiasts rightly observe, *ὡς προσποιεῖται εἶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν Ἀθήναις τὰ πρῶτα*, i. e. Peisthetairos applied the proverb generally without appropriating it to himself, or had forgotten that he was out of Athens. But the poet purposely makes him betray the truth.

here is his nest, (v. 641 sq.) out of which he calls forth his Progne. (v. 665) He introduces the two strangers into it, (v. 649, 675) and comes out of it with them when they have been plumed. (v. 801) Here we must clearly figure to ourselves the face of a rock, towards which the strangers advance, and in front of which the action takes place; and behind it is a wood. But this rock, which at first sight appears to belong to the external accessories of the poem, merely as part of a wild scenery, can scarcely be without some peculiar meaning. Let the reader remember that the scenes of these dramas of our poet, which bore upon the assemblies of the people, or in which they are introduced, is laid near the spot in which those assemblies are held, that is the Pnyx itself, the antient seat of the Democracy, whose tenant or occupier is properly called by Aristophanes, in the *Knights*, (v. 43, compare v. 750.) *Δῆμος πυκνίτης*.³⁷ Now, *Πέτραι* in our author is often used for the Pnyx, partly on account of the massive stone substruction of its northern side against the rising ground on which it leaned, and the long wall of large blocks of stone which inclosed it to the south, partly from the high rock out of which, according to the arrangement of Themistocles, the *βῆμα* or orators tribune, had been formed, partly also from the stone seats for the people within this space.³⁸ Thus when in "the *Knights*" (v. 956.) Cleon himself is pointed out by the figure on his seal ring, *λάρος κεχηνὼς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημογορῶν*, the *πέτρα* is evidently the stone *βῆμα* in the Pnyx, which is also to be understood of

³⁷ See the *Treatise on the Γῆρας* of Aristophanes, p. 19.

³⁸ On all this, see Schomann de comit. *Ath.* p. 53. sq. Comp. Chandler's *Travels*, p. 63. and Leake's *Topography of Athens*, p. 40. sq.

the *λίθος* in "the Peace," (v. 680) in "the Thesmophoriazousai," (v. 530) and "the Ecclesiazousai." (v. 87) As this spot commanded a view of the port of Athens, and of the sea,³⁹ we easily understand the comic allusion made to it in the invitation already noticed, of Demosthenes to the sausage-seller in "the Knights," to mount upon his dresser, and look around upon the sea, and the harbours and the islands beneath him. In the same comedy, (v. 783.) where the sausage-seller accuses Cleon of not caring how hard the seats are, on which the people sit, (*ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτραις οὐ φροντίζει σκληρῶς σε καζήμενον οὕτως*) and where he even presents a soft cushion to Demos, allusion is made to the seats of the Pnyx; and when a few lines before (v. 750) Demos announces his wish that an ecclesia should be held in the Pnyx, (v. 746) in order to decide the dispute between the two; (on which the sausage-seller complains, that the old fellow, clever and shrewd as he was at home, as soon as he finds himself seated upon the stones, *ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ κάθῃται τῆς πέτρας* (v. 754.) gapes and yawns with his mouth open, as if he was bolting figs;) and as Demos immediately opens the sitting, we must necessarily, in this comedy of "the Knights," imagine to ourselves a stone bench placed upon the stage itself,⁴⁰ to represent the Pnyx, on which Demos takes his seat, as the people did in the ecclesia. Thus, too, in the Drama of which we are treating, an ecclesia is held of the republic of the birds, who represent the people, and to which they are called by the Epops, as the people in Athens were by the herald. (v. 227 sq.) What, then, can be more probable, than that the real place to which our imagi-

³⁹ Plut. Themist. 19.

⁴⁰ Not in the orchestra, as Kannegeisser says; see *Die alte Komische Bühne in Athen.* p. 179.

nation is to be carried, is pointed out by the wall of rock in the back ground, representing the substructions and walls of the Pnyx, behind which are the λόγυη and ἔλῃ (τ. 192, 204, 209) whence the Epops comes forth, and whence the birds are called upon the stage, as the citizens are summoned to the assembly from their houses? On this spot too the Epops, like the sausage-seller in "the Knights," might be invited to cast his eyes around far and wide; and the sea visible from thence might the more definitely be pointed out to him, as the proper object of his survey. I shall here only make a cursory reference to another passage of this comedy, which will be quoted hereafter, and to which the observation I have just made is also applicable.

In pursuance of the poet's ironical fiction, the strangers who have wandered so far from Athens, that they can no longer find the way back to their country, are really only conducted into the Pnyx; thus the action is carried on in the very seat and centre of the life of the Athenian people, though apparently as remote from it as earth from heaven; and thus even in external circumstances, it is approximated to the reality at which it was aimed, without abandoning the fantastical character, which the enterprize to be ridiculed must necessarily maintain.

But if the whole action of our drama be not a mere gossamer airy fiction of poetry, and if it contain a real historical substance, on which is founded the import of the several parties that are implicated in it, we may at once take for granted also, that the principal personages are not mere creatures of the fancy, but must be essentially historical. When then the question arises, what is the poet's conception of the

two emigrants, and especially of Peisthetairos, who originates, conducts, and carries through the whole action? what individual did the poet wish to represent by him? what motives to embody in him? an answer presents itself, based on this self-evident induction, that he can have created the character only out of the expedition; and that it must bear a similar and equally intimate relation to such expedition, with that which Peisthetairos bears to the undertaking of the birds. It is indeed very possible, and even probable, that Aristophanes in drawing this character has not merely had in his mind single individuals, but that he has concentrated in it the motives and tendencies, which were the soul of the Sicilian expedition, in those with whom it originated; and that he has constructed into one general image the leading characteristics of several persons who were of the same opinion respecting it. But all these characteristics meet together in certain prominent indications, which may be the more readily referred to particular individuals, as they can be explained from them without violence.

Now those characteristics are particularly striking which point to Alcibiades. As Peisthetairos induces the birds to adopt his project, so had Alcibiades persuaded the Athenians to the Sicilian expedition; he had defended, recommended, and carried it through in presence of the people, and he had turned his own head and that of others, with respect to its ulterior object; he is therefore considered as the proper father of this undertaking,⁴¹ as Peisthetairos is the

⁴¹ Diodor. XIII. 27, 31. comp. XII. 84. Thucyd. VI. 15. Plat. Alcib. 17. Nic. 12.

author of that of the birds, and he was in reference to it the Πεισθέταιρος,⁴² a name intended to express the influence which eloquence really had over the historical undertaking, and which it here exercises over that which is allegorical. He possessed too, much of the sophistry of Peisthetairos, and he was above all impelled by that selfish and ambitious thirst for power, which displays itself in this personage in the second half of the comedy, which in fine attains its object, and of which more will be said in the proper place. Nor can we fail to perceive a strong affinity⁴³ between the part of Peisthetairos, and the whole conduct and character of Alcibiades, as well in essentials as in external circumstances in general; and one might be tempted simply to explain the one by the other. To this however it must be objected, that Peisthetairos and his fellow-traveller Euelpides are expressly called old men, (v. 256, 320, 1401.) whereas Alcibiades, at the beginning of the Sicilian expedition, was in the flower of manhood. The sophistical character also is too prominently brought forward in both, for us to consider this as a subordinate quality, as it was in Alcibiades, and not as a predominant and marked distinction in those to whom the poet alludes; for they are announced to the birds in three passages as sophists; first, (v. 318) they are both especially called cavillers, λεπτολογιστά, a word which Aristophanes in order to suit the metre, humorously decomposes

⁴² Schol. to "the Birds," i. παρὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι. Voss, at v. 644, translates the word after the example of Göthe, as Treufreund, or faithful friend. But then he would have been called Πισθεταιρος.

⁴³ I here observe once for all the correctness of my view, on the meaning of Peisthetairos, and "the birds" generally, in "The Treatise on the Clouds," p. 42. which was not yet quite clear to me when I wrote it.

into λεπτῷ λογιστά—as if he had said, “cavil lovers;”—then again, (v. 409) in the words ξείνω σοφῆς ἀφ’ Ἑλλάδος, both are pointed out as sophists by the epithet σοφῆς, but most particularly is Peisthetairos so designated in the praise bestowed upon him in v. 427, though by the preceding question of the chorus (πότερα μαινόμενος;) it is ironical: he is there said to be ἄφατον ὡς φρόνιμος, and again, πυκνότατον κίναδος, Σόφισμα, κύρμα, τρίμμα, παιπάλημ’ ὄλον, to which expressions we may compare v. 260 of “the Clouds,” where Socrates uses nearly the same words, when he details to Strepsiades the advantages he will secure if he becomes his scholar. In other passages, particularly v. 1271 sq. and 1401, the sophistical cunning in the character of Peisthetairos is especially brought forward and praised. With this is also connected the characteristic of petty sophistical vanity, which is interwoven with that of ambition more peculiarly belonging to Alcibiades. Hence it becomes highly probable, that Aristophanes has thrown into the character of Peisthetairos essential traits taken from some other individual besides Alcibiades, from one too who resembled him in selfish views, but more vain, and in whom sophistry was the most prominent feature. He must have equalled him in eloquence, perhaps surpassed him in sophistical subtlety, must have been concerned too, though more remotely in the Sicilian expedition, and at the time of the production of “the Birds,” he must have been an appropriate subject for the shafts of Aristophanic satire.

In announcing the solution of this enigma, I can, for the present, only cursorily prove its correctness, as far as the general characteristics, which have been adduced, seem to require it, reserving the further de-

monstration of it to the explanation of the Drama in its whole scheme. The historical personage, whom in drawing the character of Peisthetairos the poet may have especially had in his eye, along with Alcibiades, seems to be Gorgias of Leontini.⁴⁴ This Gorgias first came to Athens⁴⁵ at the head of an embassy, (ἀρχιπρεσβευτής Diod.) in the second year of the 88th Olympiad, i. e. in the 12th year preceding the exhibition of "the Birds," in order to obtain for his native city then depressed by a war with Syracuse, assistance from the Athenians,⁴⁶ who were related to the Leontines, a colony of the Chalcidians of Eubœa.⁴⁷ As Gorgias succeeded in his object, and as the Athenian people, dazzled by the novel style of his eloquence,⁴⁸ resolved to send succours to

⁴⁴ See A. in Appendix.

⁴⁵ I entirely coincide with what Geel says, Hist. crit. Sophistarum in act. nov. Soc. Traj. Bat. P. II. p. 17 sq. that Gorgias did not come earlier to Athens, and particularly not in the 70th Olympiad. But I take a different view of his second argument on this subject: of this, however, more hereafter.

⁴⁶ Thucyd. VI. 3. and afterwards in c. 50. κατὰ ξυμμαχίαν καὶ συγγένειαν. Diodor. XII. 53. Λεοντῖνοι Χαλκιδίων μὲν ὄντες ἄποικοι, συγγενεῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίων, compare c. 54, and c. 83. Τῶν Λεοντιῶν τὴν συγγένειαν προφερομένων. I quote these passages here on account of a reference to "the Birds," which I shall touch upon in the sequel.

⁴⁷ Diodor. XII. 53. Plato Hipp. mag. §. 4. and Heindorf in I. Pausan. VI. 17, 5. Wasse on Thucydides, III. 86.

⁴⁸ Diodorus, l. c. Timæus in Dionys. Hal. T. II. p. 82, 39, and Gölle de situ Syracusarum, p. 267. Schol. Hermog. p. 6. Ἐλξόριος δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐπεδείξατο ἐκὶ λόγον, καὶ εὐδοκίμησε πάντῃ, ὥστε ἡνίκα ἐπεδείκνυτο λόγον ὁ Γοργίας, ἑορτὴν ἀπρακτον ἐποιοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι.—Ἑορτὴ ἀπρακτος, must mean generally, a festival in which no business is done, public and private affairs stand still, not as Gölle translates—*intermissa deorum festa*. Compare too Schneider on Xenoph. Conv. II, 26. In this last passage, ὄντως οὐ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἶνον μεθύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπειζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ παιγμοδέστερον ἀφιζόμεθα, the πρὸς τὸ should be inserted before μεθύειν, and no comma after ἀναπειζόμενοι. The sentence is then

the Leontines, and dispatched for that purpose a considerable fleet, and as this expedition was the commencement of the projects of the Athenians against Sicily, it was therefore Gorgias who gave to this scheme, although on an earlier occasion, its first impulse and life; and on that account he was fully entitled to be placed in connection with this last and greatest armament, one which was destined to crown by the glorious ends which it had in view, all that had gone before it; at the hands too of a dramatic poet, who was bringing together all persons and events, which however remotely, were yet intimately connected with it. When the business of his embassy was concluded, Gorgias of course returned home;⁴⁹ but in consequence of the invitation of the Athenians who had been enchanted by his rhetoric⁵⁰ and were eager to study it, and attracted by the splendour and profit which awaited him, he paid a second visit to Athens, where he fixed his domicile;⁵¹ as did also his brother Herodikos, who continued to reside there as a celebrated physician. Plato, in the dialogue bearing the name of Gorgias, speaks of him⁵² as lodging with the demagogue Callicles. With these two journeys and his residence in Athens, are connected his appearance at Olympia during the games, and the

complete, and the different members of it are to the following purport, "We are not driven by wine to drunkenness, but are led to sport and raillery by the power of eloquence."

⁴⁹ Diodor. l. c. Τέλος δὲ πείσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Λεοντίνοις, οὗτος μὲν θαυμαστὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ῥητορικῇ τὴν εἰς Λεοντίνοὺς ἐπάνοδον ἐποίησατο.

⁵⁰ No other sense can be given to the words of the Schol. on Hermodg. p. 6. Κατέσχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις, τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψαντες ἐν τῇ Λεοντίνῃ.

⁵¹ Plato Gorg. §. 4. Phædr. §. 2. and Heindorf in loc.

⁵² Gorg. §. 2 and 82.

pompous harangue⁵³ which he there delivered, exhorting the Greeks to be on good terms with one another and to unite against the barbarians, his eulogy of the Elæans,⁵⁴ his sojourning in Thessaly particularly at Larissa and in other parts of Greece, in order to exercise his profession as a rhetorician, to give instruction, to extend his reputation, to add to his great wealth,⁵⁵ and finally his journey to Delphi, where at the Pythian games he so delighted the assembled Greeks by the brilliancy of his eloquence, that by an unanimous resolution, a statue of him of beaten gold, was erected in the temple of Apollo.⁵⁶ But Athens was the principal theatre of his art and of his fame. Here from time to time he delivered epideictic harangues of such dazzling splendour, that in reference to the Lampadaphoria in the Kerameikos, they were called *Λάμπαδες*.⁵⁷ In a grand funeral oration in honour of those who had fallen in battle,⁵⁸ he flattered the Athenians with recollections of their former glories, particularly of their victories in the Persian wars, and thus excited them against that empire. He also offered in public, and on one occasion at the great Dionysia, in the theatre, to speak extempore on any subject which might be proposed to him; in private too, to answer every question put to him;⁵⁹ and he taught his art with such profit and

⁵³ Aristot. Rhetor. III. 14. 2. Philostrat. vit. Soph. I. 9, 2. I. 17, 2, and Ep. XIII. ad Jul. Aug. p. 919. Pausan. VI. 17, 5.

⁵⁴ Aristot. Rhet. III. 14. 11.

⁵⁵ Plato Theag. p. 128. Menon. §. 1. Isocr. antid. p. 458. Bekk. Cic. orat. 52. Paus. l. c.

⁵⁶ See Appendix B.

⁵⁷ Schol. Hermog. l. c. *καὶ λαμπάδας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ὠνόμασαν*. See Wesseling on Diodor. XII. 53.

⁵⁸ Philost. vit. Soph. 1, 9, 2. Schol. Hermog. p. 412.

⁵⁹ Philost. vit. Soph. prooem. p. 482. Cicero de or. 1. 22. Plato Gorg. §. 2, and Heindorf's note.

success, that he secured to himself a numerous party of adherents;⁶⁰ having for his scholars the richest and most distinguished youths of the city, amongst whom Critias and Alcibiades are expressly named. And as we know that some of his countrymen, fugitives from Leontini, besides the ambassadors from Egesta, were present at Athens during the discussions and resolutions which preceded the great Sicilian expedition, and that they had considerable influence on the decision,⁶¹ it is not improbable that Gorgias was there also. At least the violent and direct attack upon him in "the Birds," (v. 1694 sq.) as of barbarian descent, and as one rolling in wealth from the produce of his tongue, justifies the opinion, that his career in Athens was in full force at the period when the play was represented. And that his reputation lasted much later, even to his death at a very advanced age,⁶² is sufficiently clear from the fact of Plato having written his "Gorgias" at all events long⁶³ after the date of "the Birds" of Aristophanes. Gorgias was far

⁶⁰ Plato Hipp. maj. Philost. Vit. Soph. 1. 9, p. 492. Ep. XIII. ad Jul. Aug. p. 919.

⁶¹ Thucyd. VI. 19. Comp. c. 6 and 8. Plut. Nic. 12. Diodor. XII. 83.

⁶² See the commentators on Lucian's Macrob. §. 23.

⁶³ On this date see Hardion in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, T. XV. p. 175. Stalbaum's Frolegg. in Plat. Phileb. p. XL. Schleiermacher in the Introduction to Gorgias, p. 20. sq. From the above cited anecdote of Hermippus, (Athen XI. p. 505. d.) i. e. that when Plato, in allusion to the golden statue erected at Delphi, in honour of Gorgias, had said, Ἡκεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ καλὸς τε καὶ χρυσοῦς Γοργίας, he replied, alluding to the Gorgias of Plato, Ἡ καλὸν γε αἱ Ἀθήναι καὶ νέον τοῦτον Ἀρχιδέου ἐμπέχασιν, it is at least clear, that the Gorgias was written after the sophist's pompous display of oratory at Delphi. In the passage of Athenæus, ὅς ἐπεδείκνυσεν Ἀθήναις is not, as Schweighauser translates it, *cum Athenas rever-sus esset*, but *cum Athenis commoraretur*.

advanced in years when this play was written, for he was already growing old when he first came to Athens as ambassador,⁶⁴ and he was an old man, when afterwards Isocrates in his youth attended his lectures in Thessaly.⁶⁵ From the hostile feeling which Aristophanes bore to that sophistical eloquence which was forcing its way into his country,⁶⁶ it is clear that Gorgias could not have been an object of indifference to him. The sophist's first appearance before the Athenian public, had been in the very year in which the comic writer produced "The Babylonians,"⁶⁷ and I think it not improbable, that this piece contained allusions to him; for in "The Acharnians," which immediately followed "The Babylonians," the new fangled style of oratory was vigorously assailed, as well as in "The Clouds," and in "The Wasps;" in which last mentioned piece (v. 241) Gorgias is cited

⁶⁴ Philost. Vit. Soph. 1. 9. p. 492. Διαλεχθεῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἡδὴ γηράσκων. Olearius rightly understands this, with reference to the expression of Diodorus, XII. 53. οὗτος—ἐαλέχετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας as applying to Gorgias' first residence in Athens.

⁶⁵ Cicero. orat. c. 52. Isocrates quum tamen audivisset in Thessalia adolescens senem jam Gorgiam.

⁶⁶ See Essay on the Clouds of Aristophanes, p. 24. sq.

⁶⁷ The fragment of "the Babylonians" in the Etymol. magn. v. ἐγκινούμενος. Ἄνθρωπος τις ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐγκινούμενος may readily be referred to Gorgias, in accordance with the special explanation, which in my essay on the Γῆρας, p. 42, I have given without emendation, but which I now produce by the kindness of H. Jacobs, 'Ρήτωρ εἰκῇ παράπτων καὶ ἐμποδίζων—with reference (see Lectt. Stobens. p. 88.) to the examples he had adduced in favour of the εἰκῇ παράπτων. I had formerly conjectured it to be ῥητορικῇ παράπτων, &c.

I cannot understand how the correct explanation of the glossa in the Etym. Magn. escaped me, which W. Dindorf has given in his first Diss. de Aristoph. fragm. p. 60. Accordingly I give up the reference of the fragment of "the Babylonians," to Gorgias, and consider it to be more probable that Cleon was meant in the passage.—(Subsequent note of the author.)

by name, together with Philippos, a sophist and rhetorician, as his friend or pupil,⁶⁸ (Φίλιππον τὸν Γοργίου) in company with whom he again appears in "The Birds." (v. 1694) Thus those traits of the character of Peisthetairos, which we miss in Alcibiades, or which in him appear to assume a different cast, or to be less prominent, all these meet together in Gorgias. He is the same old thorough-paced, artful intriguer, that Peisthetairos is, a conceited sophist, a trader in oratory, grasping after glitter and notoriety: he is connected with the Sicilian enterprize, partly by the decisive influence which he had had on the first expedition sent to that island under Laches, partly by the share which his countrymen of Leontini had in bringing about the second and greater one, (though we cannot trace how much of this last belonged personally to him), and partly by the influence which sophistical eloquence had upon both.⁶⁹ Indeed in respect to this last, the name of Παισθέταιρος eminently belongs to Gorgias, in preference even to Alcibiades. For this art (ἡ τοῦ πείθειν τέχνη—τὸ πείθειν) was exactly Gorgias' trade. Not only does he describe this art in Plato⁷⁰ as the supreme good, and as the most useful occupation in life, declaring himself to be a master of it; whilst Protagoras also in the same writer,⁷¹ relates that he had often heard Gorgias say, that it was the most excellent and best of all arts, but principally because he was such a distinguished master of it, had the Leontines sent him as their ambassador,⁷² when they first sought the aid of Athens. And as this art, which seeks not for truth, but whose

⁶⁸ Schol. to "The Birds," 1701. Reines. obs. in Suidam, p. 268.

⁶⁹ See Appendix C.

⁷⁰ Gorg. 16, 17. Heind.

⁷¹ Phileb. 136. Stallb.

⁷² Schol. Hermog. p. 6. καὶ πέμπουσι τὸν Γοργίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὡς εἰδὸτα τὸ πείθειν.

whole and sole aim is the impression and triumph of the moment, is not only practiced by Peisthetairos in "the Birds," with the most brilliant success, but is also, though not without a mixture of the poet's irony, characteristically extolled by him; and as a bitter attack is in reference to this art, made on Gorgias pointedly and by name in a very important passage, (v. 1694) as will be shown hereafter, (whilst on the contrary the name of Alcibiades nowhere occurs), one might almost be tempted to consider Gorgias as the original, whom the poet meant especially to delineate in the character of Peisthetairos. But on the other hand as we have before observed, Peisthetairos possesses very many essential features which can only be referred to Alcibiades; and he as well as his companion Euelpides, who are announced as coming from Hellas, declare themselves expressly to be citizens of Athens. (v. 33 sq. 108, 644 sq.) But Gorgias was a foreigner.

It comes then to this: That we must take Peisthetairos as a portrait altogether historical, but not corresponding to one particular individual; in whom are amalgamated the principles, the motives, the purposes and the qualities of perhaps several persons, meeting and blended together on this one point, though in other respects dissimilar; and amongst these, first Alcibiades and then Gorgias are especially prominent. The absolute and relative situations of these two, the one the father of sophistry in Athens, the other the greatest sophistical statesman, their egotism, their exertions and their intrigues to direct the Athenians against Sicily, were admirably suited for the ground-work of a character, by which the poet sought to represent the enterprize, the object of his satire, in its air-built and sophistical nature, as en-

gendered in the cloudy realms of vapour, which according to "the Clouds," (v. 331 sq.) breeds sophists, fortune-tellers, subtle refiners, and other good-for-nothing people,⁷³ as floating in the airy regions of the imagination, and as the quintessence of selfishness. The management of Aristophanes in confounding the elements of this character may serve to throw light on that of Socrates in "The Clouds."⁷⁴ For there also, in the character of Socrates are blended together relations and distinctions of several real personages, similar in some respects, dissimilar in others, and coming into contact with one another by individual affinities, so as to form one character, a dramatic one indeed, but not therefore the less historical; only that in this instance, the distinctions are greater and more important, and more in principle, the resemblances on the contrary being in the forms; and that in order to combine the historical and dramatic personages, the name and mask of a real individual are given to the latter: whereas to Peisthe-

⁷³ This passage in "The Clouds" may be here cited.

St. Μὰ Δί, ἀλλ' ὁμίχλην καὶ ὀρώσον ἀντὰς ἡγούμην καὶ καπνὸν εἶναι.

Socr. Οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' οἶσθ' ὅτι πλείστοις αὐταὶ ἐόσκουσι σοφισταί, ζουριομάντιες, ἰατροπέχνας, σφραγιδοπυχαργοκομήτας, κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένοντας, οὐδὲν ὀρῶντας ἐόσκουσ' ἀργούς ὅτι ταύτας μουσοποιῶσιν.

Str. Not I, so help me ! only I'd a notion

That they were fog, and dew, and dusky vapour.

Socr. For shame ! why man, these are the nursing mothers

Of all our famous sophists, fortune-tellers,

Quacks, medicine mongers, bards bombastical,

Chorus-projectors, and star interpreters,

And wonder-making cheats.—The gang of idlers,

Who pay them for their feeding with good store

Of flattery, and mouth-worship.

Cumberland's Translation. (Tr.)

⁷⁴ See Appendix D.

tairos we cannot apply the mask of one definite individual, i. e. we can as little consider him as *αὐτοπροσώπως κωμωδοῦντα* as *ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδοῦντα*, nor was it at all times necessary to unite the latter with the former.

We shall now also find Euelpides to be similarly circumstanced with Peisthetairos; he is the humorous witty servant, something better than Xanthias in "the Frogs;" of no use indeed to the conduct of the fable, but criticising and assisting his master, much in the manner of Sancho Panza, whilst by the simplicity of his persiflage and wit he enlivens the story, and frequently becomes the organ of the poet's irony. This character must surely in its import be intimately connected with that of Peisthetairos; and as Euelpides is together with him expressly described as a sophist, (v. 317, 409) whilst Peisthetairos says (v. 340) that he has brought him as his *ἀκόλουθος*, we cannot be wrong in considering him a kind of sophisticated famulus. If then we keep in mind the reference to Gorgias in the character of Peisthetairos, we might presume, as Pausanias (VI. 17, 5) informs us that Tisias accompanied Gorgias on his embassy to Athens, that Aristophanes has, in the character of Euelpides associated him with Peisthetairos as his attendant; but Gorgias of Leontini, and Tisias of Syracuse, cannot have been engaged in the same embassy, on account of the hostile views towards Syracuse, in which the Leontines sent Gorgias to ask the aid of Athens;⁷⁵ nor indeed is this directly implied in the passage of Pausanias; and although, according to that authority, the visit of Tisias to

⁷⁵ Bonani *Syracusæ illustratæ* II. p. 209. Mongitori *Biblioth. Sic.* II. p. 168.

Athens may have been contemporary with that of Gorgias,⁷⁶ the relation in which the one stood to the other would have been quite different from that of Euelpides towards Peisthetairos. This relation is evidently a subordinate one; and on that account also it cannot express the relation of Tisias to Gorgias, as the former, himself a pupil of Korax,⁷⁷ had been Gorgias' teacher of eloquence.⁷⁸ But the case is quite different with Polos of Agrigentum who was a scholar of Gorgias,⁷⁹ and may perhaps have accompanied him to Athens; or if he did not go thither together with his master, yet at any rate he travelled through Greece, pursuing the same trade as he did,⁸⁰ and seems to have been long connected with him. Plato at least associates him with Gorgias, in the dialogue which bears this name, and though not a young man at the time of the dialogue, he is there considered and treated quite in a subordinate relation and as junior to Gorgias. He is also here played upon in a manner,⁸¹ or as the old critic describes these scenes in Plato, turned into a buffoon or comic character.⁸² With this accords too the notice of the old anonymous

⁷⁶ Hardion is of this opinion, *Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscriptions*, XV. p. 168. Pausanias only says, that Gorgias came to Athens ὁμοῦ, not σὺν Tisias. It is doubtful, however, whether he was sent by the Syracusans, as Hardion supposes, in order to counteract the proposals of Gorgias. It may indeed be inferred from the words of Pausanias, that a rivalry in oratory did exist between him and Gorgias, but not that it extended to circumstances of a public or political nature.

⁷⁷ Heindorf on the *Phædrus* of Plato, §. 129. Taylor *Vit. Lysiae*. p. 110. note 13. Reiske.

⁷⁸ Schol. *Hermog.* p. 6. Γοργίας δὲ τις Λεοντῖνος—μαζήτην τῷ Σισίᾳ (1. Τισίᾳ.) καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαθεῖν ὑποστρέφει οἴκαδ'.

⁷⁹ Philost. *Vit. Soph.* 1. 13. p. 496. Suidas *voc.* Πῶλος.

⁸⁰ Plato *Theag.* p. 128.

⁸¹ Plato *Gorg.* §. 38. Heind. *Comp.* Schleiermacher in the Introduction, p. 11.

⁸² Dionys. *Halic. Ep. ad Pomp.* 1, 12. and Krüger on the same.

commentator on the rhetoric of Aristotle,⁸³ ὁ πῶλος μαθητὴς καὶ παῖς ἦν τοῦ Γοργίου. The word παῖς here evidently points to the dependent circumstances of Polos, who in another place is called Γοργίου συνουσιαστικὸς,⁸⁴ similar to that of famulus; somewhat like Chairephon in the "Clouds" in reference to Socrates, as in "the Thesmophoriazousai," (v. 39 sq.) Agatho's accomplished servant is in reference to him, and as Kephisophon, in "the Acharnians," in reference to Euripides, whose παῖς he is there expressly called. (v. 395 compare 401) It may be too that the commentator above cited derived from some comic writer his designation of Polos as the παῖς of Gorgias.⁸⁵ Could we now find in "the Birds" any closer allusion to Polos, something like the Enthymeme of Herodikos,⁸⁶ Αἰεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ, or like the allusion of Thrasymachos in "the Clouds,"⁸⁷ we should have every reason for concluding that he was the archetype of Euelpides; and that Aristophanes on this account places him in the same relation to his Gorgias in the part of Peisthetairos, which Plato assigns to him with respect to the real Gorgias. But the name Euelpides points also to another affinity. Thucydides (VI. 24) says expressly, that the younger citizens were enthusiastic for the Sicilian expedition from a desire of visiting distant countries, καὶ ἐυέλπιδες ὄντες σωξήσεσθαι, and wherever else this expedition is spoken of, allusion is al-

⁸³ Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους Ῥητορικὴν. p. 47. 14. On this Scholion see Geel, p. 173.

⁸⁴ Dionys. Halic. Judic. de Lysia, p. 131.

⁸⁵ See Appendix E.

⁸⁶ Aristot. Rhetor. II. 23.

⁸⁷ See note in Essay on "the Clouds," p. 13. v. 890, 917. The λόγος δίκαιος in this play, cannot as is supposed by Meier in the Allg. Lit. Zeit. 1827, n. 119, p. 109. have worn the mask of Aristides, which was incompatible with his going over to the democracy. This could only have suited the mask of Aristophanes himself.

ways made to the hopes, by which the populace were excited to it by Alcibiades.⁸³ The credulous and almost simple character of this populace, which Alcibiades led as he pleased, of this crowd of hope-stricken madmen, the poet seems to have designed to mark by the name of Euelpides ; and thus to connect this character still more with the peculiarities of Alcibiades than with those of Gorgias, as they are both depicted in Peisthetairos. But the situation of Euelpides as a sophistical famulus, and the whole keeping of the character, perfectly correspond to the two allusions, namely, to that of the docile pupil, and to that of the credulous and truckling political faction ; and the conversion of Peisthetairos into a prattling black-bird,⁸⁹ and that of Euelpides into the clumsy likeness of a clacking goose, (v. 805) after their reception amongst the birds, are well suited to the ready eloquence of the former, and to the simplicity of the latter, and not less so in the political, than in the sophistical conception both of the one and the other character.

These two supposed travellers then or emigrants, now address themselves to the Epops or the Hoopoo. The pleasantry intended by the author in this mask is easily understood from the exclamation of Euelpides, who is astonished at the sight of it, and

⁸³ Plutarch Nic. 12. Πληθὺς ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις προδιεφθαρμένον. Alcib. 17. τὸν τε ὄημον μεγάλα πείσας ἐλπίζειν. Diodor. XII, 83. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ δυναμένους κτήσασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐλπίζειν τὴν μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην νήσων περιποιήσασθαι. XIII. 2. Οὕτως ἅπαντες μεμετεωρισμένοι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατακληροῦν ἡλπίζον τὴν Σικελίαν, κ. τ. λ.

⁸⁹ It is evident from this expression that in the passage of Lucian's "True History," l. 29, where he speaks of Κορωνὸς ὁ Κοττοφιῶνος, the last word requires no change, as it is quite in accordance with the poetic fiction of Aristophanes, that Coronos the son of the black-bird should be then reigning in Nephelococcygia.

at the plumage and enormous top knot on the head of the Epops; (v. 94) *τίς ἡ πτέρωσις; τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς τριλοφίας*; If we call to mind how often Aristophanes dwells upon the large flaunting crests of the generals and other commanding officers in the army, we shall recognise in this enormous top knot a proof that he selected the mask of the Epops in reference to such appendage. Now there is no one whom the poet so often ridicules⁹⁰ for his monstrous military crest as Lamachos, whom he handles most roughly on other occasions, as a general fond of war, and as opposed to his own pacific views.⁹¹ And Aristophanes in "the Birds" would naturally have him in his mind, because no less fiery and foolhardy than Alcibiades, he bore a prominent part at the very beginning of the Sicilian expedition, in which he was chosen to hold a chief command, along with Alcibiades and Nicias.⁹² Lamachos therefore could scarcely have been omitted in a play of which this expedition was the object, and in which Nicias too is not passed over, though mixed up with it in a very different manner. And the probability that this mask, which evidently points to a military commander, bears especially the stamp of Lamachos, is further strengthened by the question (v. 103) put by Euelpides to the Epops, "Where then are thy feathers?" and by the answer to it, "They are moulting, as all birds do in the winter," which are only quite intelligible if

⁹⁰ Passim, and in "the Acharnians" alone v. 567, 575, 585 sq. 965, 1074, 1104 sq. 1109, 1182.

⁹¹ Acharn. 270, 572 sq. 1069 sq. 1174 sq. Pac. 304, and the commentators on this passage. 1270 sq.

⁹² Plut. Alcib. 18. *Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς Λάμαχος ἡλικία προήκων ὅμως ἐδόκει μηδὲν ἥττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διάπυρος καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι.*

taken in allusion to that commander. This answer, in the true spirit of comedy, places us in the exact period of time in which "the Birds" was exhibited, namely, at the great Dionysia, towards the end of winter; as is also the case in the Thesmophoriazousai. (v. 1 and 67) But the further meaning of this moulting (πτερόρουεῖν) is soon explained by v. 284 sq. where the younger Epops, who is also moulting, is compared to Callias, whose feathers had been plucked by the sycophants and the women. Now Lamachos was frequently in great pecuniary distress, which became especially conspicuous on his acceptance of a command or strategia. Plutarch relates of him,⁹³ that he was so necessitous, that at each new appointment, he charged the people a small sum for his clothing. (εἰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ κρηπίδας ἐαυτοῦ) As Plutarch uses these words on the occasion of the Sicilian expedition, we may conclude that Lamachos did not depart from his usual habits, when a command in it was conferred upon him; and the poet has thus a very appropriate opportunity for alluding to his poverty, in the moulting of the elder Epops, which could not fail of being understood by the Athenians; who, intimate as they were with the manner of Aristophanes, would immediately recognise in the Hoo-poo with the large crest the caricature of this strategos; and all the other circumstances characteristic of Lamachos were at once placed before their eyes; for he had frequently been in the situation, on which (v. 114 sq.) Euelpides compliments the Epops, namely, that of having, when a man, borrowed money, as the two travellers had done, and like them having omitted to repay it. This appears

⁹³ Plut Nic. 15. Comp. Alcib. 21. fin. Perizon. on Ælian II, 43.

most distinctly from the Acharnians, where Lamachos is mentioned by name, and where, in consequence of his debts, and his contribution to the public banquets (ἐράνους) being in arrear, all his friends had lately saluted him with the ἐξίστω (cede bonis,) as if they were emptying in the evening a night vessel into the streets.⁹⁴ The next allusion too in the 117th line of "the Birds," wherein the Epops is described as having flown, when he became a bird, over land and sea, becomes still more evidently a stroke at Lamachos as a strategos, when we compare it with v. 601 sq. of the Acharnians, in which being then about eleven years younger, he is expressly enumerated along with the young fellows, who were ever running about from one post to another, shirking the service and only campaigning for a few days, and who in "the Frogs" (v. 1014) are called διαδρασιπολῖται. With these numerous allusions it was impossible not to perceive that in the mask of Epops the poet intended to pourtray Lamachos, or rather this mask itself told its own story, and that of Lamachos was not at all wanted.⁹⁵ In this

[⁹⁴ Acharn. 615 sq.

οἷς ὑπ' ἐράνου τε καὶ χρεῶν πρώην ποτὲ
ὥσπερ ἀπόνιπτρον ἐκχέοντες ἐσπέρας,
ἅπαντες ἐξίστω παρήγουν οἱ φίλοι.]

⁹⁵ The following passage from Aristides' oration pro quatuorv. Opp. II. p. 123. shows that there were other means for recognising the characters of the old comedy besides the name and the mask: Ἄ γὰρ σὺ διδάσκεις τῇ λογῳ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκεῖνος δείξας πρότερος φαίνεται, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ ἐν προσέῳκας, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις ἔστης, πᾶς τις ἂν εὔρεν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. Τον Περικλέα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίσματος ἐν τοῖς ἑράμασι, on which passage the scholiast in Frommel, p. 169, erroneously interprets γνωρίσματα, to be the marks by which in Comedies exposed children were recognised; whereas οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίσμάτων can only mean the characters, who are not represented either by name or by mask, but were readily recognised by other tokens; such was the τραλισμός or lisp, to which I

respect too the allusion to the great Sicilian armada, which Wieland in his Translation of "the Birds," had already perceived to be contained in the announcement made to the Epops by the two strangers, that they come from the city where fair triremes are, (v. 108) is very appropriately elicited by the Epops. For the rest, this character of the Epops is of no further use in the action of the play than to introduce the strangers to the birds, and to mediate between them, as ambassadors and other strangers are usually introduced by a *πρόξενος*, and as soon as this service is performed (v. 837) he is very properly dispatched to superintend the building of the wall, as Lamachos also had gone away with the fleet.

In the introduction of the two strangers to the Epops, Aristophanes has given us a trait which announces their sophistical practices and pursuits. The servant Trochilos, frightened at their appearance, calls out, (v. 62) "Oh poor me, they are bird-catchers;" and Euelpides by his exclamation, "Why use such harsh words? why not fairer tones?" implies that the appellation is disagreeable to him, and that he would

have alluded in my essay on "the Clouds," p. 35. as one of the *γνωρίσματα* of Alcibiades in the part of Pheidippides, to which however was in all probability superadded the semblance of a mask. That this was the case is now clearly proved to me by v. 872 sq. where Socrates complains that Pheidippides had pronounced the word *κρέμαιο* in such a silly and languishing tone. Ernesti here rightly refers to Suidas' Glossa on *χείλεισιν διεφθνηκόσιν*: *Χεῖλη διεφθνηκότα. κεχαλασμένα, ὡς συνεστραμμένα*, and we can only fully understand the jest by fancying to ourselves a lisping pronunciation of *κρέμαιο*, like that of *Θέωρος* and *κόρακος* in "the Wasps." The *χαύνωσις ἀναπειστηρία* contrasted with the *χείλεισιν διεφθνηκόσιν* evidently refers to the wide stretched jaws of the orator.

[Πῶς ἂν μάθοι ποῦ οὗτος, ἀπόφενξεν εἰκής

Ἥ κλησιν ἢ χαύνωσιν ἀναπειστηρίαν; Nubes 874.]

have preferred some other. Now the eagerness of the sophists to get into their toils the youths of the principal rich families, according to a very common picture⁹⁶ of the seductive charms of love and friendship, was frequently compared to a chase or hunt. Plato,⁹⁷ carries this comparison to its fullest extent: In the *Σοφιστής* he explains sophistry to be ἡ τέχνης οἰκειωτικῆς, χειρωτικῆς, κτητικῆς, θηρευτικῆς, ζωοθηρίας, πεζοθηρίας, χερσαίας, ἡμεροθηρικῆς, ἀνθρωποθηρίας, ἰδιοθηρίας, μισθαρνικῆς, νομισματοπωλικῆς, δοξοπαίδευτικῆς, νέων πλουσίων καὶ ἐνδοξων γιγνομένη θήρα. And it is said of Prodikos,⁹⁸ Ἀνίχνευε δὲ οὗτος τοὺς ἐνπατρίδας τῶν νέων, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν βαθεῶν οἴκων, ὥς καὶ προξένους κεκτῆσθαι ταύτης τῆς θήρας. This gives us the real clue to the meaning of the word ὀρυζοθήρα, and explains why Euelpides quarrels with it, for he would have preferred to it even σοφιστά. It shows us also how characteristic are the eager desires for feasting and fondling, the gratification of which Euelpides and Peisthetairos (v. 128, 142) are seeking for in the city they would wish to inhabit. In the last cited passage (v. 139) Peisthetairos calls himself Στυβλωνίδης. The commentators doubt as to the meaning of this name, and have referred it to a soothsayer, who accompanied the expedition to

⁹⁶ See particularly Plut. Alcib. 4 and 6. Athen. V. p. 219, d and f, about Socrates and Alcibiades. Xenoph. Mem 1, 2, 24. II. 6, 8. Schneider on the Convivium of Xenophon IV. 63.

⁹⁷ Plat. Sophist. § 14, sq. and particularly § 17. Heind.

⁹⁸ Philost. Vit. Soph. I. 1, 12. p. 496. so also of Anthenion or Aristion in Athen. V. p. 211 f. Πρὸς τὸ σοφιστεῖν ὥμῃσι, μεράκια σχολαστικά θηρεύων. Timon of Philus applies this image to Pythagoras in Plut. Numa. c. 8. On Socrates, see Libanius Socr. apol. Op. III. p. 40. 19. Reiske. ὅμως φησὶν (ἄνθρωπος) αὐτὸν φεύγειν μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, θηρεύειν δὲ τὴν νεότητα. Compare also Cresollus Theat. Rhet. IV. 10. p. 429 sq.

Sicily. But his name was Στιλβίδης,⁹⁹ and however suitable to the play an allusion to the officiousness of prophets and fortune-tellers might be, such allusion, in connection with the context, and as a predicate of Peisthetairos, would be indistinct and ill-timed; the more so, as Aristophanes has not forgotten to bring it forward in the right place, and in the most open and appropriate manner. But if we perceive the real persons, which are disguised under, and yet pierce through the mask of Peisthetairos, we immediately understand, that it is a name made for the occasion which the Scholiast very properly explains by ὦ λαμπρόε; and in which the comic poet would have us recognise, not only the sophist, in the midst of his splendid gloriole the reward of his eloquence throughout Greece and in Athens especially, for his brilliant orations called λαμπάδας, but the demagogue also, as a lover of outward show and splendour. It thus becomes an epithet in all respects applicable to the character of Peisthetairos, as will be made still more apparent when we come to the explanation of the closing scene of the Drama.

The excellence of the great project is quickly perceived by the Epops; and the instance adduced, (v. 188) of the obstruction which the Athenians met with in their journeys to Delphi, from the blockading force of the Bœotians, seems the more appropriate when we reflect on a blockade of others by sea as the counter-recommendation, and at the same time on the unfriendly relations now existing between Athens and Bœotia; and how the word φόρος applied (v. 192) to the tax, which the gods are to pay to the birds out

⁹⁹ Plut. Nic. 23. Schol. Aristoph. in Pace 1031. Compare Siebelis on Philochorus p. 63. and Meineke's Quæst. Scenicar. l. p. 59.

of all the sacrifices made to them by the men, clearly points out what is really meant by these sacrifices and gifts¹⁰⁰ whenever mention is made of them in the play. The Epops immediately resolves (v. 198) to join Peisthetairos in founding the city, if conformably to the principles of the Athenian constitution it should be agreeable to the whole birdhood. Aristophanes here-upon puts the question into the mouth of Peisthetairos, "who will propose the business to the birds?" in order that in the answer to it by the Epops, "that he himself would make the proposition, for from his long residence amongst them, the birds understood his language," he might introduce his raillery on the ready susceptibility of the Athenians, (who are supposed to have been before barbarians, and in opposition to which notion Gorgias is afterwards (v. 1700) called a barbarian) for foreign sophistry, as if this had taught them human speech: and the Epops' taking the merit of it to himself, and to his long intercourse with the birds, is only an ironical inversion of his relation to the sophist comprised in the character of Peisthetairos.

The commonalty is now convened by the Epops, as the Attic people were summoned according to their Demoi; the *πεδᾶῖοι*, or inhabitants of the plains,¹⁰¹ and amongst these the farmers and gardeners, (v. 230, 239) the herdsmen, (v. 244, 249) the mountaineers, (*ῥιᾰκριοι* 240) and the sailors from the coasts. (*παράλιοι* 250 sq.) At first the birds come in singly, then forming the chorus in procession (v. 295, 304) they crowd together into the Ecclesia as the people did in Athens.¹⁰² The introduction of the second

¹⁰⁰ Compare 669 sq. of "the Wasps."

¹⁰¹ Herodot. 1. 59. Plut. Solon. 13.

¹⁰² The explanation which (v. 299) is given of the top-knot of these

Epops amongst the birds, with the allusion to Kallias, is not without its point; for he is moulting, as Kallias, then a young and rich man of fashion, is plucked by the sycophants; for by these sycophants we must here understand sophists, and companions of that stamp, amongst whom Gorgias is afterwards (v. 1694) enumerated by name; and by these, as has been already noticed, such opulent and distinguished young gentlemen were entrapped. Even the rich Kallias, the third of his family bearing that name, who at the time of "the Birds," must have been still young,¹⁰³ had been caught by them; they cost him a good deal of money,¹⁰⁴ and they formed part of the society of flatterers and parasites by whom he was surrounded, and whom Eupolis has exposed to ridicule in his *κόλακες*¹⁰⁵ and who, I am inclined to believe, were also the objects of the *Ταγηνισταί* of Aristophanes. For *Ταγηνισταί* are just that kind of people who, in a fragment of Eupolis,¹⁰⁵ are called platter and table friends, οἱ περὶ τάγηνον καὶ μετ' ἄριστον φίλοι, that is to say *κόλακες* or flatterers. It is clear from the fragments of this piece, that there was a convivial scene in it; and in one of these fragments

birds, with a play on the word *λόφος* as if they wore it as a protection, (as the Carians for safety sake dwelt upon the heights, ἐπὶ λόφῳ), ridicules the inutility of this military ornament, and ironically expresses what Æschylus says in sober seriousness, Sept. c. Theb. 383: Λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἀνευ δορός.

¹⁰³ For he was alive, and took an active part in public affairs in the second year of the 102. Ol. Xenoph. Hellen. VI. 33 sq.

¹⁰⁴ Xen. Conv. I. 5. Heindorf on the Theætet. of Plato, § 57, and other passages in Meineke's Quæst. Scen. I. p. 51 sq. where the author treats of this Callias fully and accurately.

¹⁰⁵ Meineke l. c. see also Lucas on Cratinus and Eupolis, p. 102 sq.

¹⁰⁶ Plut. de discr. am. et adult. p. 188. Wytt. Meineke with great probability ascribes this fragment to the *κόλακες*.

the parasites are evidently preparing to sing a song in their patron's praise.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that Kalias was this patron, for no one at that time was so distinguished a protector of these sharks.¹⁰⁸ However this may be, he is closely connected with the range of representation in our drama; he is a bird caught in the snares of the sophistical fowler; possibly he has left in them his feathers, and with humorous irony, he is formally introduced to the representative of sophistry, i. e. to Peisthetairos.

The announcement made by the Epops that subtle doctors of the art of speech are arrived from mankind, in which announcement, the expression (πρέμνον πράγματος πελωρίου 321) used in reference to their proposal, strictly corresponds to the views expressed by Alcibiades, and to his designation of the expedition against Sicily as the ἀρχὴ (foundation) of the whole project,¹⁰⁹ (Plut. Alcib. 17) makes the most unfavourable impression upon the birds; taking them for bird-catchers,¹¹⁰ they are seized with mistrust of them as of a race ever hostile to birds, since it first came into existence (334 sq. 369 sq.); they warmly oppose their admission, and are ready to annihilate

¹⁰⁷ Athen. XV. p. 677. c.

Τί οὖν ποιούμεν;—χλανίδ' ἐχρῆν λευκὴν λαβεῖν·
εἴτ' ἰσθμιακά λαβόντες, ὥσπερ οἱ χοροί,
ἄδωμεν εἰς τὸν δεσπότην ἐγκώμιον.

The patron of a parasite, commonly ὁ τρέφων, ὁ πλούσιος is also called ὁ δεσπότης; see the fragment of Krobylus in Athen. VI. p. 124. b. as by the Romans he was styled *dominus* and even *rex*. Terent. Eunuch. III. 2. 43. Taubmann on the Captivi of Plautus, I. 1. 24.

¹⁰⁸ Heraclides Ponticus in Athen. XII. p. 537. b. Ποῖοι γὰρ οὐ κόλακες, ἢ τί πλῆθος οὐχ ἐταίρων περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν; ποίας δὲ ἀπάντας οὐχ ὑπερέωρα κείνος;

¹⁰⁹ Plut. Alcib. 17.

¹¹⁰ Schol on γ. 320. Ὑποπτεύουσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναι ὀρνιθοθήρας.

them. In this warlike attitude of the birds, the poet has well expressed the natural sound sense of the people, resisting sophistry, and mistrustful of its intrigues. When, however, the two adventurers arm themselves against the attack with culinary utensils, which must necessarily be formidable to the birds; and Peisthetairos answers the question put to him (v. 358) by Euelpides, "What use could the jars, *χυτράι*, be of to them?" by saying "Oh, the owl which is amongst the birds, (v. 301) will take care not to attack us." The explanation which according to the scholiast, Euphronios gave to this passage, (v. 361) namely, because they were both Athenians, is certainly not the right one. The meaning is rather to be sought for in the earthen *χυτράι* themselves, which as well as all other earthen ware, being notoriously excellent in Athens, particularly when made of the potters' clay of Colias,¹¹¹ were ascribed to the invention of Minerva.¹¹² We often see them stamped on the Athenian Drachmæ; these however, are not as Corsini¹¹³ apprehends, to be taken simply as types of the manufacture of Attica, but rather as the vessels which when filled with oil, were given as prizes to the visitors at the Panathenæan games.¹¹⁴ We thus see an immediate

¹¹¹ Plut. de audit. Opp. VII. p. 441. Hutten. Athen. XI. p. 482. b.

¹¹² See the passage in Dissen's notes on Pindar. Nem. X. 36.

¹¹³ Corsini Fast. Att. II. p. 235 sq.

¹¹⁴ Schol. on v. 1605 of "the Clouds." Schol. on Sophocl. Œd. Colon. 701. Schol. and Dissen on Pindar. l. cit. Meursius Panathen. c. 11. These vessels are mentioned by Böckh. Corp. Inscr. N. 33, 234, and 242. Eckhel vol. I. P. II p. 212. also believes the vase on the coins was an oil jar; he hesitates however in his opinion, and thinks it may represent the vessel used at the feast of the *χœg*. But at this feast, as is observed by M. Uhden, there were only vessels of wine; and the *χœg* was certainly of a different shape from those on the coins. Considered as the Panathenæan oil

and close connection between the owl and the jars ; and Peisthetairos implies that to spare them, she will not attack himself or his companion, whilst on the other hand, the birds (v. 365) are exhorted, first of all, to smash to pieces the pot.

This singular and shrewd device to arm and defend themselves with culinary instruments, gives an opportunity to the poet, by a stroke of raillery in the mouth of Euelpides, (v. 364) to praise Peisthetairos for the skill and military talent which had suggested it. Now, says he, thou hast surpassed Nicias in arts. (*μηχαναῖς*) This word is here generally taken to mean the instruments of siege, by the ingenious invention and successful use of which Nicias is said to have distinguished himself on various occasions : and there is nothing to be said against it. But if we bear in mind that Peisthetairos is from the beginning extolled, not only for his skill in strategy, but also for his sophistical cunning, (*ὦ σοφώτατε*) we must suppose that by the expression *μηχαναῖς*, in which he is said to surpass Nicias, other arts also besides those of war are to be understood. Nicias, in addition to his being

jar, this emblem together with the owl, combines every thing which can connect it immediately with Athens, i. e. the usual reference to its patron deity in the bird dedicated to her, and the remembrance of her holy festival by the vase invented by her. This vase too, important as it was in Athens, in reference to the gymnastic exercises, and for other purposes, contained also the produce of the tree sacred to Minerva and presented by her to the country, and it was itself a production of Attic soil, and of Attic industry.

[Compare too these lines of Critias, in Athen. 1. p. 28. c. 22.

Τὸν δὲ προχοῦ γαίης τέ καμίνοντ' ἔκγονον εὖρε,

Κλεινότατον κέραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον,

Ἥ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρώπαιον. And Brondstedt on the Campanari Vases. London, 1832.]

the most powerful political adversary of Alcibiades,¹¹⁵ was also the most conspicuous opponent of the Sicilian expedition, and not like the crowd who were the dupes of Alcibiades, bewildered by vain hopes of what it was to effect;¹¹⁶ yet was he already outwitted, and in fact defeated by the counterplots and ambition of his rival, even before the question had been decided in the assembly of the people.¹¹⁷ These artifices and intrigues, by which Alcibiades was able to gain his purpose, and to maintain it against the straightforward and unsophisticated Nicias, are principally meant by the word *μηχαναῖς*; and it is very remarkable that Euelpides, who is always full of hope, at this very moment, even before his master had made his proposal, thus heartily expresses his joy that Peisthetairos had already beat Nicias in those arts. In reference to this double sense of *μηχαναῖς*, we may also compare v. 479 of the *Clouds*, where Socrates calls these new arts, which he would apply to the instruction of Strepsiades, *καινὰς μηχανὰς*, whereas Strepsiades takes the words in the sense of engines for carrying on a siege. Now this laudatory expression of Euelpides, whilst it ironically contradicts the main purpose of the poet, gives us the whole character personified in Peisthetairos, as a sophist, a politician and a general; and at the same time Nicias is very ingeniously brought before our eyes as his opponent, and as that of the undertak-

¹¹⁵ Thucyd. VI. 15. Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου βουλόμενος τῶ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὧν καὶ εἰς τ' ἄλλα διάφορος τὰ πολιτικά.

¹¹⁶ Plut. Nic. 14. Νικίαν μὴδ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων ἐπαρξέντα κ. τ. λ.

¹¹⁷ Ὁ γοῦν Νικίας—ἀντιστάμενος ἡττᾶτο τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ φιλοτιμίας πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι κατασχόντος ἡδὴ πλήθους ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις προδιεφθαρμένον.

ing ridiculed in the play. This personage could not indeed have been omitted; but as Aristophanes in his ironical conduct of the whole project censures it throughout, and sides with Nicias in exposing it, he was necessarily interwoven in the piece in the slightest possible manner; and his negative influence is very delicately alluded to. We shall in the meantime perceive how this course is further maintained, and particularly how the thread of the story, as it depends on Nicias' personal views of the expedition, is carried on.

At the moment of making their attack, the birds are checked by the remonstrance of the Epops, (v. 366) that the strangers had done them no harm, and were also relations *ξυγγενέε*, and of the same tribe with his wife. We understand this but imperfectly, if we confine it to outward appearances only, and to the recollection that Prokne, the wife of Epops, was an Athenian born woman; without recalling to our minds also, that the Leontines who had been the occasion of the first Sicilian expedition, and had some influence on the second, were also kinsmen *συγγενείς* of the Athenians, and had pressed their demands for aid on the strength of this relationship. In reference to this fact, and consequently to the Leontine portion of the character of Peisthetairos, an evident allusion is couched in the designation of the foreigners as a-kin to the Athenian Prokne.

As the birds are now so far appeased by the Epops, who shows the true adroitness of a demagogue in the management of them by one or two common places flattering to their understanding, (*οἳ σοφοὶ* v. 376) that they refrain from the attack, and consent in the first instance at least to give them a hearing, (v. 381) it is again worthy of notice, that the two

strangers, according to the tactics of Peisthetairos, (v. 386 sq.) retreat behind their culinary utensils, as if into their camp, and with the roasting spit in their hands, cautiously advance, keeping an eye upon the birds before them, and close to the pot's mouth. This seems to me a trait of character quite appropriate to parasitical sophists, for whom birds were a dainty morsel, and the pot an important utensil and well known signal; as amongst other examples, it was for Chairephon, one of that tribe, who, according to the comic writer Alexis,¹¹⁸ used to take his stand at an early hour in the morning, where the boiler was placed for hire; and as soon as the victualler had let it out, he instantly learnt where there was to be a repast, and there presented himself an uninvited guest. But in this play mention is frequently made of feasting, and in the concluding scene we have the marriage feast of Peisthetairos, who already (v. 127) had expressed his wish that he might be invited to such a one every morning; and on this occasion birds are prepared as the principal dish.

When the recommendation of the strangers, who are represented as very cunning, and shrewd fellows, (v. 409, 429) and that of their proposal which is to be a measure unheard of before, and promising incredible advantages, (v. 421 sq.) (an additional trait being interwoven with it, which is to strike the imagination as if the piece were brought on the stage at a distance from Athens, and even without the boundaries of Hellas,¹¹⁹) when this recommendation has at length induced the assembly to give ear to them, and a formal truce is concluded with them, (v. 438, 461) Peisthetairos prepares himself for his harangue, as if for a feast of the

¹¹⁸ Athen. IV. p. 164. f.

[¹¹⁹ *Ξένω σοφῆς ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος*. Av. 409.]

ear, with which he is to entertain the birds, (v. 462, 465.)¹²⁰ This exhibition, although there is nothing particular or unusual in the metaphor of a feast as applied to an oration, has in this place a special application; inasmuch as the speech of Peisthetairos is made for the insidious purpose of entrapping the birds, and as Plato who entertained exactly the same opinion that Aristophanes did, in regard to sophistry, compares the art of persuasion (and especially in reference to Gorgias)¹²¹ with that of cooking; and places it together with sophistry in the category of *κολακεία*. Thus do these preliminaries seem to announce a thoroughly sophistical harangue, which is to prepare and introduce the alluring bait, with a sly calculation of what it is to effect: and this Peisthetairos gives us to understand from his very first words. (v. 465 sq.)

The speech itself paints to the birds in its opening, and in the most lively colours, the picture of grandeur and power enjoyed by them in former times; (v. 467, 522) and by strongly contrasting these with their present degraded state, (v. 523, 538)¹²² it excites in them such a painful feeling respecting it, and such an eager longing after their pristine splendour and happiness, that plunged as they are in the deepest affliction, they pass into a tone of mind the very re-

¹²⁰ See on this passage Schomann de comitiis p. 113 sq.

¹²¹ Plato Gorg. § 41 sq. Heind. where we may observe that the *μη ἀγροικότερον ἢ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν* gives a hard blow to Polos in return for his *ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄγειν πολλή ἀγροικία ἐστὶ τοῦς λόγους*. § 38.

¹²² V. 479 and 480 have been misunderstood by the Scholiasts and the more recent critics. Enelpides says to Peisthetairos, "Now wilt thou be food for the birds' bill." (Compare v. 348) "For Jove will not be in a hurry to give up his sceptre to the woodpecker" which in the sense of Aristophanes is as much as to say, what an absurd and chimerical scheme!

verse of their indignation at the first reception of the strangers. They see in Peisthetairos their saviour; they give themselves and their young ones completely into his hands, and forthwith demand his counsel as to the means of recovering their former empire. (v. 539, 549.)

Now certainly even in the first harangues delivered upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition, many seductive, and false¹²³ arguments were adduced, to urge the Athenians to undertake it; and Alcibiades himself mentions in his subsequent speech, both the dominion acquired by their ancestors, and that which was to be obtained by the expedition.¹³⁴ Peisthetairos' discourse doubtless refers to this circumstance both in its general character and in its object. But as no further striking resemblance runs through it, Aristophanes does not appear to me to have borrowed the matter, or much of the form of his harangue from those speeches; but to have had also in his view another original which can be pointed out, and with which we may discover more striking coincidences in this respect. It is related of the funeral oration spoken by Gorgias in Athens,¹²⁵ "that it was composed with extraordinary ability and address; " (*σοφία ὑπερβαλλούσῃ*) for as its object was to ex-
"cite the Athenians against the Medes and Persians,
"it made no mention of their union with the other
"Greeks, because it was addressed particularly to
"Athenians who thirsted for the sovereignty, which
"they could only obtain by putting forth all their

¹²³ Thucyd. VI. 8. *Τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ.*

¹²⁴ Thucyd. VI. 17. *Οἱ γὰρ πατέρες ἡμῶν—τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσαντο—τὴν τε ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἐκτησάμεθα.—Καὶ ἅμα ἡ τῆς Ἑλλάδος—πάσης τῇ εἰκότι ἄρξομεν.*

¹²⁵ Philostrat. Vit. Soph. 1, 13, 2. p. 413.

“energies; but on the other hand, it dwelt on their
 “victories over the Medes, and by praising these to
 “the skies, it showed to them that victories over the
 “barbarians demanded hymns, whilst those over the
 “Greeks called for dirges.”¹²⁶ The purport of this
 speech, which, it may be observed, could neither be
 considered as merely epideictic, nor was fit to have
 been delivered over those who fell at Salamis¹²⁷ was
 exactly the same as that of Peisthetairos, namely, to
 excite the Athenians against another people; it dif-
 fered only in the object against which the excitement
 was to be created. Its dwelling on the praise of the
 victories gained over the Persians is an additional
 point of resemblance, which cannot be mistaken, to
 the first part of the speech of Peisthetairos. For
 what he says of the glorious bygone times of the race
 of the birds, is evidently an allusion to the earlier
 sovereignty or preponderancy of Athens in the time
 of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Kimon, (when Per-
 sians (v. 484 sq.) Egyptians and Phœnicians (v. 503 sq.)
 were frequently defeated by the Athenian fleets and
 armies), and I think too, in the time of Pericles.
 That the cock for instance formerly ruled over the
 Persians, and the cuckoo over the Egyptians and
 Phœnicians, can have no other meaning than the
 name of the Median or Persian bird, in allusion to
 the first of those facts, and the well known proverb
 (v. 507) for the other; and these contain no personal
 allusions. The falcon too, *ἰκτῖνος*, which in “the
 Birds” is frequently mentioned as the announcer and

¹²⁶ Compare Isocr. Paneg. p. 95. Bek. *Ἐνροὶ δ' ἂν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἕλληνας Σρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους*, is evidently an allusion of Isocrates to the oration of his master Gorgias. See App. F.

¹²⁷ This is the interpretation given to it by Geel. p. 19, 25, 33.

harbinger of spring, might from this circumstance appear to be sufficiently explained as the sovereign deity of the Greeks; Aristophanes however but too willingly indulges in allusion to names borne by historical personages. Now it happens that Ictinus was the name of the architect, who, under Pericles, directed the construction of some of his most celebrated public buildings, such as the Parthenon and the older temple in Eleusis.¹²⁸ On these monuments Pericles had expended the treasure which was at Delos, besides other public monies of the Greeks;¹²⁹ and he raised Athens by such embellishments, and at the same time by a wise and vigorous extension of its power, to be the capital of Hellas. As Aristophanes in other places¹³⁰ alludes to the extravagance of Pericles in the expenditure of these monies, in conjunction with Pheidias the superintendent of his buildings, as being one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war, as Pericles and his age could not be omitted in the allegorical picture of the former splendour of Athens, and as the Greek name for falcon is the same with that of the architect Ictinus, there is every probability that Aristophanes availed himself of this accidental circumstance to mark a period in which Athens did in fact maintain in the greatest splendour the *ἡγεμονία* or preponderance over Greece. If there had been any bird called Pheidias, he would in all likelihood have chosen that. Moreover, as in the funeral oration of Gorgias, some subjects of regret were contrasted with the object of its eulogy, (although as we may gather from the account of Philostratos,

¹²⁸ Plut. Per. 13. Vitruv. VII. pref. § 12, 16. Strabo IX. p. 395. Pausan. VIII. 41, 5.

¹²⁹ *Tὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρήματα.* Plut. Per. 12.

¹³⁰ Pac. 605 sq.

by his longer dwelling upon them, further misfortunes were obscurely hinted at), so in the harangue of Peisthetairos, the picture of the present pitiable state of the birds is contrasted with that of their former sovereignty. This picture indeed does not precisely correspond with the actual circumstances, at the time when the play came out, of the political weight and credit of the Athenians, sunken though they were by the defeats at Oropos and at Delion, and by the advances made by the Spartans on the frontiers of Thrace. (Thucyd. V. 14, 15) But we may observe, how the object of the speaker and his sophistical character led to exaggeration, no less—indeed rather more in this, than in the former part of his speech, inasmuch as the impression was to be completed by it. The Athenians had in each case lost considerably in political importance. Other nations had begun to regard them with little respect, cities formerly dependent upon them had revolted;¹³¹ and the Bœotians in particular had so increased in arrogance, that they had not only taken possession of the Athenian fortress Panakton (Thucyd. V. 3.) on their own frontiers, by which they menaced Attica, and refused to restore it to the Athenians, (notwithstanding that this formed one of the stipulations of the peace of Nicias, (id. v. 18) to which they did not accede,) (id. v. 17) but they had even denounced the ten days' truce which they had made with them; (id. v. 32) and though after the renewal of their alliance with the Spartans, they made the fortress over to them, they first razed it to the ground; (id. v. 36) so that when the

¹³¹ See the passages from Diodor. XII. 75, Xenoph. Mem. 111. 5, 4, and Diodor. XII. 72, cited in Boeckh's preface to the List of Lectures in the University of Berlin for the Summer half year of 1826, p. 9. note 3.

Athenians were expecting to receive it from these last, they learned that it was destroyed. (id. v. 39, 40) If any thing could show contempt, it was treatment like this; and it is not impossible that Aristophanes, when he represents to the birds, (v. 524) how their enemies (the men) had not spared them even in the sanctuaries (*ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς*), may have had especially in view what the Athenian garrison in Delion had suffered at the hands of the Bœotians. Though this event had taken place two Olympiads before the play was acted, the memory of it would be still fresh in Athens. It appears to me, however, that the poet did not allude to external political degradation alone, but also to the worthlessness exhibited at home; and that by the acts of injustice described (v. 526 sq.) as committed by the bird catchers on the birds, he has intended with bitter irony, and from the mouth of Peisthetairos himself, who afterwards (v. 1579, 1584) practices in his own person against the birds what (v. 581) he had represented as their greatest outrage, to place before the people the dangerous snares with which they were threatened by the sophists. In "the Knights" indeed (v. 792 sq.) he calls the demagogues to account for oppressing the people whom they crowded together in the city, in language drawn from the habits of poulterers locking the birds up in their cages, and pinching and feeling them for their eggs. But at the time of "the Birds," this application was quite lost. The people were now the prey of demagogues of another kind, that is of those formed in the school of sophistry, and of its teachers, and were seduced by them into false and fatal measures of policy, amongst which measures stood paramount the Sicilian expedition. The delusive and tortuous arts of sophistical eloquence are so often designated¹³²

¹³² Amongst other authorities see Cresollus Theat. Rhet. 11 and 6.

by the different kinds of snares of the bird-catchers, which Peisthetairos mentions, such as nets, and amongst these the equivocal word *νεφέλαι*, (v. 528) leashes, gins, traps, &c. that we may readily allow that here also this designation is the closest and most natural. I do not venture to decide whether Aristophanes further on (v. 530, 538) merely meant to represent in coarse and vulgar metaphors the abuse of the people in general, as the fruits of sophistry; or whether he especially had in view, as in "the Clouds," the *καταπηγοσύνη*, which was encouraged in the schools of sophistry, and the corruption of the people which proceeded from it. We might well conclude for the latter interpretation, if we were to compare the expression *βλιμάζοντες* (v. 530) with the wish which Peisthetairos had announced in a former passage, (v. 188) and that which follows, with the *καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις τῆς Αντιμάχου καταπηγοσύνης ἀναπλήσει*, in "the Clouds," (v. 1002) as well as with those in "the Peace," (v. 716, 885, 890) in reference to the *Theoriai*; and if we observe that the duped birds, shutting their eyes to the snares and nets which are laid for them, at once entrust their young broods (*νοττία*) to Peisthetairos; (v. 547) as was the case too with Epops himself (v. 196 sq.) who as soon as he had heard Peisthetairos's project, protests and avows its excellence by those very nets and traps. This circumstance admits a ready application to the Athenian youth, who were now entirely abandoned to the sophists, and had become their followers.¹³³ The son of Pisias (v. 766) *τοῦ πατρὸς νεόττιον*, and the *Ἀρεως νεοττός* and *νεοττός ἐσπότης* (v. 835) and many

¹³³ Pupils in reference to their masters are often compared to young birds, who receive their food from the beaks of their parents. Wyttenb. on Plut. de Audit. p. 48. A.

other vapouring coxcombs exposed by name in the course of the play, are birdlings of these *νοστιά*.

In seeking for a direct manifestation of the peculiar characteristics of Gorgias in the harangue of Peisthetairos, we must not expect to find such a perfect parody, as the lyric song in the Thesmophoriazousai presents to us of the tragic and lyric poet Agathon, who also had formed himself on the model of Gorgias; here the form was not so much to be attended to, as the thoughts; and an accurate imitation of the former would have been tiresome and ridiculous; besides that the affected and stiff manner of the rhetorician could not have been directly transferred into a metrical harangue, as it is in fact throughout and accurately copied in the prose declamation of Plato.¹³⁴ Still there is much, in which we may recognize traces of these peculiarities, such as antitheses, balanced phrases, similar cadences, similar beginnings and endings of periods; as for example (v. 477) *πρότεροι μὲν γῆς, πρότεροι δὲ θεῶν*—gingling passages, as in v. 478, *ὡς πρεσβυτάτων αὐτῶν ὄντων ὀρθῶς ἐσθ' ἡ βασιλεία*—accumulation of similar words and thoughts, as in v. 469, *ἀρχαίστεροι πρότεροι τε*—(v. 488) *οὕτω δ' ἴσχυε τε καὶ μέγας ἦν τότε καὶ πολὺς*—(v. 555) *καὶ μὲν μὴ φῆ, μηδ' ἐθελήσῃ, μηδ' εὐθὺς γνωσιμαχήσῃ*—

¹³⁴ Sympos. p. 417 sq. Bekker. The observation that in this passage the words from *οὗτος* *ὅς* to *νοήμα*, are imitated from Gorgias, is in the Dissertation “De authenticâ declinatione, quæ Gorgia Leontini nomine exstant. Auct. Schönborn, (Vratisl. 1828) p. 25 sq. Aristides in his *Ἐπὶ Γοργίᾳ κεφαλῇ* (Or. T. II. p. 93) must have had in his mind the *Γοργίου κεφαλὴν* of Plato, (ib. p. 419) and not as his Scholiast and Frommel, p. 154, observe, the passage in the fifth book of the Iliad, 714, *Ἐν δὲ τὴ γοργείῃ κεφαλῇ δεινὸν πέλωρον*, though this last might have prompted the words used by Plato. Geel may be consulted for notices on the manner of Gorgias in general, but Schönborn has analyzed it still more accurately, and has accompanied his criticisms with examples.

(v. 586) ἦν δ' ἡγῶνται σὲ θεόν, σὲ βίον, σὲ δὲ γῆν, σὲ χρόνον, σὲ Ποσειδῶν. But these may also be regarded generally as the natural result of metrical dislocation, or of the language itself, or of the rhetorical colouring of the speech; and it is in truth superfluous to look for many examples of this kind. There is, however, one trait which we cannot consider in any other light than as a direct intentional imitation of a rhetorical peculiarity of Gorgias. It was peculiarly his practice to give the greatest weight to the commencement of his speeches, and he sought by the pomposity of expression, flattering to his hearers, with which he began, at once to excite and dazzle their imaginations. The beginning of his Olympic oration is in this style; Ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἄξιον θαυμάζεσθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες; and still stronger is the exclamation at the opening of his panegyric on the Eleans; Ἥλις πόλις ἐνδαίμων.¹³⁵ This is happily caricatured by Peisthetairos, who (v. 465 sq.) says that he had long been in search of some weighty and bright oily word (μέγα καὶ λαρινὸν ἔπος τι) which might harrow up the birds' souls; and forthwith he breaks out: "I am so deeply grieved for you who "were once kings," and instantly he gains his object. Gorgias probably had opened his funeral oration with a similar inroad upon the hearts of the Athenians. The far-fetched story of the genealogical descent of the birds seems also a parody of the same speech, in which Gorgias doubtless had dived still deeper into the fabulous times for the Autochthonia of the Athenians; as his scholar Isokrates did in his panegyric, to prove to them that the Hegemonia was their birthright. Moreover the pomposity and extra-

¹³⁵ Aristot. Rhet. III. 14, where these abrupt exordia are called *αισχρολογία*.

vagance of Peisthetairos' address, calculated for the one object of insinuating himself into the good opinion of the birds, are as characteristical of Gorgias, as his application to them of new theories respecting cosmogony and theology; and the doctrine, that not the accredited gods, but the birds were the true and original gods, clearly enough betrays that Aristophanes is here putting words into the mouth of a man, who busied himself, as did also Gorgias, though after a different fashion from other Natural Philosophers, with τὰ μέτewρα, and with metaphysics, and who set up different views from those of the people on final causes, and on the government of the world. We here see the beginning of a raillery also against Natural Philosophy, which soon afterwards in the parabasis (v. 685) breaks out in full force, which reaches its highest pitch in the solemn worship of the new bird-gods celebrated by Peisthetairos, is again visible in v. 1000 sq. and 1191, becomes identified with the character of Peisthetairos, and essentially belongs to the moving principle of the undertaking, which is ridiculed as a project hatched by sophistry, and throughout sophistical.

In addition to these internal signs, which teach us to recognize in the address of Peisthetairos a parody of the speech of a sophist, of a speech of Gorgias, and in truth of his funeral oration, there is, I think, one external token which puts this last allusion beyond a doubt. In the passage where the birds begin to show a disposition to listen to Peisthetairos, Euelpides asks (v. 393) "but should we die in battle" "where shall we be buried?" to which Peisthetairos answers, "the Kerameikos will receive us, for in order" "to be solemnly interred, as in the people's cause," "we will tell the strategoi that we fell at Orneai,

“fighting with the foe.” This play upon the words in reference to the contest, which was about to take place near the abode of the birds, (*ὄρνεα*) and that at *ὄρνεαί*, is clear. But there must be another allusion also in this passage. In the affair at Orneai (according to the narrative of Thucydides, VI. 7) much Athenian blood could not have been shed; but at the next public interment it would appear that many were declared to have fallen there, and as if they had died for their country, received the honours of such interment, and of the funeral oration delivered upon the occasion: and to this I think the poet has alluded. The events at Orneai took place one year before the exhibition of “The Birds,” and the oration at the interment of those alledged to have fallen on that occasion, and of others who had died in battle, must have been the last before the play came out. I scarcely dare to offer it as a conjecture, whether this may have been in truth the funeral oration of Gorgias himself, although the expression of Philostratos that Gorgias forbore to make mention in his speech of the good understanding between the Athenians and the other Greeks, because they thirsted for a dominion, which they could not hope to reach, without great and extraordinary exertion, might indeed lead to the conclusion that it was delivered about the time of the Sicilian expedition. But as Aristophanes does put the allusion to that funeral oration into the mouth of Peisthetairos, and this too immediately before he begins his address, it is natural to suppose that the poet had already in his mind the harangue which he was soon after to ridicule and in part to parody: and if we rightly understand the course of the whole address, we can scarcely fail to see that

this early mention of the former was intended by the poet as a direction-post to the latter.

Peisthetairos now lays his plan before the birds. (v. 550) In a strict analysis of the measures, by which the birds, on its success, are to maintain their sovereignty, many circumstances will occur which merely serve to complete the allegory. But throughout we shall not fail to recognize in it the moral tendency of the system, which is to ensue upon the completion of the great Sicilian expedition. Under the dominion of Athens, which is then to take place, the whole of Greece will pay to her their taxes; a representative and president on the part of Athens, will be deputed to each considerable capital, whose duty will be to take care that she receives her dues out of whatever is sent to the other states from their colonies, or from subordinate states immediately dependent upon them. That these principal states are implied by the gods (v. 564 sq.) I have already observed, and further mention will be made of it hereafter. We need only here be reminded, that whenever sacrifices occur in the allegorical representation of the project in this comedy, they must always be interpreted to mean "tributes or taxes." When then Peisthetairos (v. 564) counsels the birds to appoint to each god a bird, ὅς καὶ ἀρμόζη καθ' ἑκάστον, this expression seems to point to an allusion, in perfect accordance with the object of the measure, to the well known Harmostai, whom the Spartans used to depute to their dependent states. Such administrators or magistrates were to be sent to the principal states of Greece by the Athenians, when sovereigns of the sea. Those that will not obey, their crops and cattle will be plundered, after the modes so often practised

in the Peloponnesian war. (577, 581) Those who submit, their country will be protected, (v. 588) their trade and commerce favoured, (v. 593) their navigation secured, (v. 596) and their prosperity and comforts increased in every possible manner. The course of the transactions here laid down, had its archetype in many an Athenian Ekklesia, where the people, highly prejudiced against certain opinions and measures, hooted at first violently against the orators, and interrupted them; but when once silenced and made attentive by a single word calculated to make them reflect, and then caught by an artful narrative and some flattering picture, they readily changed their tone, and came into the opposite opinion with the same warmth with which they had supported their former views; just as the birds now receive with joy the overtures of Peisthetairos, (v. 626) give themselves up entirely to his guidance, and are determined to execute his plan as far as their physical powers are equal to it.

Peisthetairos now enters as the demagogue of the birds, and Epops himself urges the instant execution of what the people have resolved on. In the expression *μελλονικίῳν*, for which Epops (v. 639) says there is now no longer time, the allusion to Nicias is too evident to have been overlooked, even so late as when the scholiasts wrote. It has been in part applied to the cautious character of Nicias generally, in part to the lingering progress of the siege of Pylos, as long as he conducted it, and in part to the scruples by which he endeavoured to put off the Sicilian expedition. This last allusion is the nearest in respect to time, and is the better founded, as it agrees with the gist of the whole play. But we shall only seize it in its full and direct meaning, in reference to the

proposal of Peisthetairos and the resolution of the commons, when we compare the words of Epops (v. 638)

καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐχὶ νυστάζειν γ' ἔτι
 ὥρα 'στὶν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ μελλονικῖαν,
 ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα δεῖ τὶ δρᾶν·

with the demand which Demostratos addressed to Nicias, when the Sicilian expedition had already been determined on; and when (Nicias having attempted to deter the people from the undertaking, first by representing generally its dangers and inexpediency, and upon Alcibiades defending it, by the great expense of the equipment), it now only remained to discuss the execution of it. This demand is thus related by Thucydides, VI. 25. καὶ τέλος παρελθὼν τις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ παρακαλέσας τὸν Νικίαν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι προφασίζεσθαι οὐδὲ διαμέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον πάντων ἡδὴ λέγειν ἥντινα αὐτῷ παρασκευῆν Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίσωνται. The assumed allusion to Demostratos is rendered still more probable by the execration, with which Aristophanes assails him in the *Lysistrata* (v. 391) for the eagerness with which he urged on the Sicilian expedition. The same circumstance is mentioned also in two passages of Plutarch (Nic. 12 and 14) Ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ Δημόστρατος ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προφάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν, and οὐδεὶς ἔτι καιρὸς ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως. Aristophanes' allusion to this speech of Demostratos is so striking, that we almost hear him in the words of Epops: and hence we may observe, that although Epops is certainly not intended to represent Demostratos, it furnishes another example of an historical trait engrafted upon a dramatic character, with which it is in other respects quite unconnected; and many and still stronger instances of this description occur in the

present, and in all the other dramas of Aristophanes. In unison with the explanation of this allusion to the opposition of Nicias to the Sicilian expedition, an allusion which precisely coincides with v. 363 above cited, and is best illustrated by it, others likewise may be pointed out, by means of which the poet has interwoven into his picture the forebodings also, which Nicias entertained respecting the enterprize in a religious point of view. It is well known that this commander was of a religious, or rather of a superstitious turn of mind. In reference to the undertaking, Thucydides touches indeed, though slightly, upon his anxiety for its uncertain issue;¹³⁶ Plutarch also only observes that Nicias, when once the business was determined upon, and he was unable to decline the chief command, ought to have laid aside his extreme caution and apprehension, and that constant puerile recurrence to former discussions, with which even after the embarkation, he discouraged his colleagues in command, adding, that he never yet had been defeated upon this subject in argument. But by the frequent mention of his *Deisidaimonia* in the history of the Sicilian expedition, we may easily believe that this feeling must have been strongly expressed in his very first efforts against it; and this is confirmed by the observation, with which Plutarch closes his life of Nicias. "At length they gave credit to what Nicias had said, when they began to experience what he had so often foretold to them." Moreover other celebrated men foresaw and predicted an unfortunate issue to the expedition, and evil omens preceded it,

¹³⁶ Thucyd. VI. 9. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀσθενὴς ἄν μου ὁ λόγος εἴη, εἰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σώζειν παραινοίην, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἰστοίοις περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ μελλόντων κινδυνεύειν.

which left a strong impression upon many. We may then fairly consider the ominous sayings, which in "the Birds," drop unintentionally from the originators themselves of the undertaking, as when Euepidēs (v. 576) says 'Ο Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν οὐ βροντήσας πέμπει πτερόεντα κεραυνόν; and when Peisthetairos (v. 824) mentions the Phlegræan fields, on which the gods had laid prostrate the giants who would storm the heavens, with whom too the exclamation of Epops (v. 553) compares the bold stroke of Peisthetairos, we may I say consider these also as forebodings;¹³⁷ and still more should we view, in the light of a serious warning, the earnest advice of Iris, (v. 1238) ὦ μῶρε, μῶρε, μὴ Ξεῶν κίνει φρένας κ. τ. λ. In this passage Λικυμνίας βολαῖς used for κεραυνοῦ βολαῖς is said with an allusion, which if it applies to the ship struck by lightning and burnt,¹³⁸ (see Hesychios on the Likymnios of Euripides) is quite appropriate to a naval expedition. Her words too (v. 1259) ἦ μὴν

¹³⁷ Though Peisthetairos here speaks as a sophist and freethinker, he is unwittingly a prophet.

¹³⁸ The old commentators did not clearly understand this allusion. In the beginning of the scholia on this passage: ὁ μὲν Καλλίμαχος γράφων οὕτως, Λικυμνίας βολαῖς φησὶ (scil. Aristophanes) ταύτης τῆς εὐδασκαλίας οὐ μέμνηται. After φησὶ there is evidently an omission of what Callimachus had written on the words of Aristophanes. I once thought that the omitted words might have had reference to the sophist and rhetorician Likymnios; who like Polos in Dion. Halic. judic. de Lys. p. 111. is called a συνουσιαστικὸς of Gorgias, (see on this Heindorf on the Phaidros of Plato, § 114. and on this passage Krüger in Dion. Halic. historiog. p. 287.) and whose fine, harmonious, but empty words (ὀρεμάτων ψέφα. Valchen. on the fragments of Kallimachos, p. 285.) might well be called Λικύμναι βολαί. We see too a picture nearly similar in the ἔπεισι ἀκροβολισάμενοι of Herodotus VIII. 64. This might indeed be possible in another combination of words; but as they stand here, an allusion to Likymnios would have been too indirect, and at the same time too subtle to have been adopted by Aristophanes.

σε παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως οὐμὸς πατήρ—must be considered as an ominous threat, not indeed as to the issue of the action in the play, but to that of the expedition it represented, quite in the spirit of Nicias, and in conformity with the opinion of Aristophanes himself. If now we reflect upon the tendency of this piece, and on the forebodings and warnings, which in reference to the opinion of Nicias on the Sicilian expedition, have been interwoven into it, we shall find it not improbable that another play of our poet which first appeared in the same year with “the Birds,” but at the Lenæan festival,¹³⁹ and which was called “Amphiaraos,” after one of the seven chiefs against Thebes, celebrated for his prophecies of ill luck to himself and his brother chieftains, may have referred to the same expedition, and to Nicias one of the commanders in it, who in the same manner foretold misfortune for the whole army, and for himself. Notwithstanding that his extravagant Deisidaimonia presented a ready subject to the comic muse, yet many opportunities occurred, to apply also to him what Æschylos¹⁴⁰ had said of Amphiaraos, and to make the voice of solemn warning speak most energetically under the mask of pleasantry and raillery.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Argument of “the Birds.” Ἐπὶ Χαθρίον τὸ ἔρῳμα κατῆκεν εἰς αὐτὸν διὰ Καλλιστράτου· εἰς δὲ Αἰθήναια τὸν Ἀμφιάραον ἐκίχαιξε διὰ Φιλωνίδου.

¹⁴⁰ Sept. c. Theb. 551, 560, 572, 604.

¹⁴¹ It might perhaps be objected, that “Amphiaraos” could not have been a political drama, but must have had a personal tendency, because Aristophanes had caused it to be represented by Philonides, by whom, according to the *Anonymus de Comœdia* p. XXIX. *Lips.* all his other personal comedies were represented, whilst those of a political bent were conducted by Kallistratos, who acted the principal character, e.g. that of Peisthetairos in the “Birds.” But this is a matter of doubt, as Thomas Magister in his life of Aristophanes, p. XXXIX. *Lips.* says just the contrary; and as “the Wasps,” clearly

But in order to stamp Peisthetairos and Euelpides as real associates of the birds, and to give them their semblance, they are to be plumed. Here Aristophanes seems to have had in view the domicile of Gorgias in Athens, and the eagerness of the Athenians to appropriate to themselves the sophists of other countries. The fable of Æsop, or rather that of Archilochos,¹⁴² of the fox and the eagle, by which Peisthetairos points out (v. 651 sq.) how ill it might fare with him amongst the birds, from the natural difference between him and them, exactly tallies, at least with the sophistical part of his character, for which he had already (v. 429) been praised as the cunning fox. (πυκνότατον κίναδος) The pluming or

a political play, was conducted according to the didascalia not by Callistratos but by Philonides; but here if with Meineke (Quæst. Scen. II. p. 39. not.) we read ἐὰν Καλλιστράτου for ἐὰν Φιλωνίδου, and if we take βῆ ἦν for δεύτερος ἦν, and if we ascribe a new play, the Προάγων, to the comic writer Philonides, we remove the grounds which induced Kanngiesser (die alte komische Bühne p. 268 sq. and Boeckh. Über die Lenaien etc. Abh. der hist. phil. Klasse der Academie der Wissenschaften for 1816 and 1817, p. 72. Compare too Corp. Inscrp. p. 351) to read the whole of the Didascalia in another spirit, according to which Philonides, who set out as a poet contending for the prize, ends by being a successful and triumphant actor.

Besides it may be fairly asked, in what consists the difference which the above mentioned critics put forward between political or demotic, and personal or individual dramas? "The Knights" certainly if any are, is a political play, yet is it directed against one individual, Cleon. "The Clouds" and "the Frogs" too ridicule Socrates and Euripides in person, but their tendency is by no means limited to this, being intimately connected with the political existence of Athens. It is however possible, that one of these two actors was more capable of imitating individuals, the other of representing general characters; and that on this account Aristophanes usually selected the one or the other to perform the principal parts of his comedies, appears to be the purport of the observation of the Anonymous writer, and of Thomas Magister.

¹⁴² Huschke in Matthiæ Miscell. philol. I. p. 12 sq.

feathering is brought about simply by tasting a root, which the poet has doubtless imagined, in contrast to the black rooted $\mu\omega\lambda\nu$, which prevents the metamorphosis of Ulysses by Circe;¹⁴³ and as the poet so frequently dwells, in the piece, on the invasion by foreigners of the rights of Athenian citizenship, he might wish to designate by this instant and magical transformation into birds, the ease by which foreigners were changed into Athenians. That something in reference to that practice was represented on the stage is evident from the raillery in the parabasis which immediately follows, (v. 760) upon the easy admission of run-away slaves and barbarians to the rights of citizens, and to the Phratrīai; for, as we shall hereafter see, the parts of the parabasis, and the more considerable choral songs in the play, are always strictly connected with the subject of the immediately preceding scenes.

The parabasis which appropriately fills up the pause occasioned by the incorporation of the foreigners amongst the birds in the nest of Epops, is ingeniously interwoven with the action in general, on the one hand by the Anapæsts, (v. 685, 722) which together with Peisthetairos's deduction of the royal rights of birds, (v. 468) comprise all cosmogonical and theological systems, from Orpheus to the latest sophists, typified by the mention of Prodikos,¹⁴⁴ (v. 698) and which by their pleasant irony and bantering tone heighten the representation of the sophistical character of the undertaking; and again at the moment when the action ceases, by the sudden and violent address of the Epirrhema (v. 753, 768) to the spectators, charging them to come over to the birds and live with them, as they will be readily received, and

¹⁴³ Od. X. 302 sq.

¹⁴⁴ Compare v. 861 of "the Clouds."

as whatever the antiquated morals and laws of Athens prohibited was sanctioned by their customs: and finally by the satirical eulogy of wings in the Antepirrhemata. (v. 785, 800.)

When the two strangers, each in his own appropriate dress as a bird, and with them Epops have returned upon the stage, they proceed in the first instance to name the new city *Νεφελοκοκκυγία*. This Aristophanes in his irony makes the invention of Peisthetairos, himself the originator of the visionary undertaking, and he thus at once describes the whole chimerical essence of this enormous senseless project, as the work of mischievous puppies and conceited fools,¹⁴⁵ whose object floats in the region of the air, (v. 818) the true seat of all such fantastical vaporous forms, and where are preserved the treasures of empty rhodomontaders.¹⁴⁶ But the questions as to the patron deity of the new city, (v. 826 sq.) and who is to occupy the citadel, (v. 832) for we need not observe that the *πελαργικὸν* is an allusion to the *πελασγικὸν τεῖχος* of Athens,¹⁴⁷ are as well as those respecting the name, important points for the completion of the work. To the second of these questions, i. e. who is to occupy the Akropolis, Epops answers, (v. 833)

Ὅρνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους τοῦ Περσικοῦ,
ὅσπερ λέγεται δεινότατος εἶναι πανταχοῦ,
Ἄρεως νεοττός.

¹⁴⁵ Acharn. 598. *Κοκκυγίς γε τρεῖς*, and the Scholia and commentators upon the passage.

¹⁴⁶ We might compare this description with the feudal dominion of the Arcadian shepherd Mopsus at the Cape of Good Hope, in the "Fatal Fork" of Count de Platen—in which spiritual and witty drama we almost see the dawn of a restoration of the comedy of Aristophanes.

¹⁴⁷ Müller's History of the Hellenic Races, Part I. p. 446. Compare Kruse's Hellas, Part 2. p. 78 sq.

And Euelpides in his way thus compliments this new seigneur du bourg, (v. 835)

— ὦ νεοττὲ δέσποτα·

ὥς δ' ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιτήδειος οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ πετρῶν.

In this passage, which Didymos on the authority of the scholia, considered as an allusion to some handsome youth, Alcibiades is no less conspicuous, than Gorgias becomes afterwards by a direct attack made upon him towards the end of the piece; and when once known, he is recognised in all these combined traits. The expression of the Epops, "One of our birds of a Persian race," is very extraordinary, unless some one be meant by it who, an Athenian by birth, affected foreign fashions in his whole mode of life; and such was Alcibiades, on whose early estrangement in all his habits from the customs of his own country, or *παρὰνομία ἐς τὴν δίαυταν*, as Thucydides calls it, there is but one voice amongst the antients.¹⁴⁸ His long trailing purple robes¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Thucyd. VI. 15. Lysias adv. Alcib. 349 Bekker. Pseudo-Anakid. adv. Alcib. p. 182. Plutarch. Alcib. 16. Athen. V. p. 220. c.

¹⁴⁹ See the passages in the Essay on the *Γῆρας* of Aristophanes, p. 42. Huschke in Matthiæ Misc. philol. II. p. 28. had already perceived that the line in the *Δῆμοι* of Eupolis, which I have quoted in speaking of the *ἄλγεα* of Alcibiades, must have meant something trailing along, but he understood by it a hare's tail, and therefore as Valckenaer has done, he conceived the allusion to be made to cowardice: but cowardice cannot well be applied to those at whom this expression was aimed, for the *ρίψασπις* Cleonymus could scarcely have been one of them. My explanation appears to me more satisfactory, as it is based on a definite historical object. I think too, that it is highly improbable that the *Δῆμοι* was first exhibited in the third year of the 92d Olympiad, as Meyer assumes in the *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1827, May, p. 142: for it is uncertain whether the fragment in Athenæus III. p. 316. c. on which this supposition is founded, really applied to Theramenes. There were surely several statesmen, who changed sides according to circumstances. Kritias was one of these. If it applies to such statesmen, Theramenes might

after the fashion of Persia attracted general notice, when he went to Olympia; on other occasions when he travelled, a Persian tent had been presented to him by the Ephesians;¹⁵⁰ and to judge from the manner in which he and Socrates converse upon this subject in the first Alcibiades, (§ 35, 40) from a conceit of being equal to the great king in his descent from Jupiter, he seems at an early age to have attempted in his exterior and in his habits of life that same Medismos, which after his banishment he fully developed during his residence at the court of Pharnabazos.¹⁵¹ The Persian or Median bird, as the cock was notoriously called, was thus an image quite appropriate to Alcibiades; and being introduced (v. 275) with a lofty erect comb, instead of a tuft as the other birds are, and having an extraordinary outlandish appearance, this was probably meant for him, as the second Epops was for Kallias, and the *καταφαγᾶς* for Kleonymos. Alcibiades well deserved the reputation *δεινότατος εἶναι πανταχοῦ Ἄρεως νεοττός*, partly from his fiery temperament and warlike disposition, partly as the son of a brave warrior.¹⁵² And the exclamation of Euelpides, "How fitted he is to live upon the rocks," (*οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ πετρῶν*) is best understood, if we recal to our minds what Aristophanes

have exhibited at an earlier period an ambiguous character. But Alcibiades may have been more than all others the object of raillery for his purple trailing robes, as he prided himself upon them in public, and his foreign fashions excited suspicion before his banishment. Nor can the prayer contained in the fragment refer to the recal of Alcibiades to the chief command after his banishment, as there is no mention of a *μὴ πάλιν ἄρχειν*, but of a *μηκέτ' ἄρχειν*. Hence it is probable that the play was produced not long after the death of Kleon, and "the Peace" of Aristophanes.

¹⁵⁰ Pseudo-Andokid. l. c. Athen. XII. p. 534. d.

¹⁵¹ Athen. XII. p. 535. e.

¹⁵² See the passages in Baehr on Plut. Alcib. 1.

had before said on the situation of the Pnyx, and particularly when we compare the passage there cited from "the Knights," (v. 956) *Λάρος κεχληνὼς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν* with that from "the Peace," (v. 680) *ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίζου τοῦ 'ν τῇ Πνυκί*. Since he rules the Pnyx, that is the ekklesia, as the orator of the people, and is as much at home there as the *Δῆμος πυκνίτης* himself, he is therefore equally fitted to dwell upon the rocks of the Akropolis.¹⁵³ Here we see clearly the real purpose of the Demagogia of Alcibiades; and his intention to seize upon the citadel of the chimerical city of the birds, is fully implied in the eagerness for sovereignty, which is imputed to him in the greeting he receives: *ὦ νεοττὲ δέσποτα*. Of these ambitious projects he had been accused in consequence of his general demeanour,¹⁵⁴ and particularly after the affair of the *Ἑρμοκοπίδαι*,¹⁵⁵ and after the profanation of the mysteries. For the Akropolis was the seat of sovereignty at Athens under a tyranny, as the Pnyx was under a Democracy, and Peisistratos and the Peisistratidai kept posses-

¹⁵³ Aristides pro quatuorv. Opp. II. p. 199, says of Perikles, that he laid no scheme to raise himself above his situation, although he might have accomplished it easier than Peisistratos: but it was as good as if he had been master of the Akropolis (*ἀλλ' ἦν παραπλήσιος κατέχοντι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*, for administering the laws, and benefiting all indiscriminately. In this description there is a train of ideas resembling that which we perceive in Aristophanes.

¹⁵⁴ Thucyd. VI. 15. Isocr. de big. p. 502 Bekker. Pseud-Andokid. adv. Alcib. p. 176 sq. Plutarch. Alcib. 16.

¹⁵⁵ Thucyd. VI. 27, 28, 53, 61. Plutarch. Alcib. 18. Compare Sluiter's Lect. Andok. p. 53. According to the Scholiast on v. 766, the son of Pisias who is there attacked was one of the Hermokopidai. Probably the Scholiast was thinking of the person who in the fragment of Pherekrates (cited by Porson) in the Scholiast to v. 859, is called *Μέληξ*. Among the Hermokopidai there does indeed appear a *Μέλητος*, Andokid. de Myst. p. 111, but no *Μέληξ*. Hence this remark of the Scholiast on v. 766 may have arisen from a confusion of names.

sion of it during their rule.¹⁵⁶ All this taken together leaves no doubt that a representation, which if it had contained only one of the features here combined, might have been considered as allusive to Alcibiades, must have had him for its main object. Nor is it impossible that Aristophanes may have directly aimed his shafts at the same individual in two other distinct passages of "the Birds;" in the first place, at v. 706, where we may take the words *ὁ μὲν ὄρνυγα ἔδουε*, besides their coarse and generally understood meaning, in still nearer connection with Alcibiades, from the fact commonly related of him, that the pilot Antiochos got into his good graces for having caught and brought back to him a quail, which on his first appearance in public had flown out of his cloak;¹⁵⁷ and again at v. 816, when Euelpides says that he would not stretch hemp (*σπάργανον*) under his bed, at least as long as he could get girths; and the *παρὰ γὰρ καρτίαν ἔχων*, may help the allusion to the story, that Alcibiades when he went to sea, as he had just done on his way to Sicily, in order not to sleep upon the boards, caused the common bed places to be cut away and furnished with girths, *καρτίαις*, upon which his bed-clothes were laid.¹⁵⁸ Both these anecdotes were too public and well known not to be understood at the slightest hint. Such allusions however are of no importance whatever to the general subject. But on the other hand, the inclination of Alcibiades towards tyranny was of the greatest consequence; the people of Athens, as Thucydides expressly observes, had

¹⁵⁶ Herodot. i. 59. v. 64.

¹⁵⁷ Plutarch. Alcib. 10.

¹⁵⁸ Plutarch. Alcib. 16. [Perhaps too Aristophanes has introduced this ridiculous and punning disavowal of *σπάργανον* in reference to the suspected Lakonismos of Alcibiades: Tr.]

never forgotten the times of Peisistratos, and always entertained apprehensions, perhaps extravagant, of a tyrant; but just at the time when "the Birds" was acted they were in the most violent ferment of alarm upon the subject. And as the inquiries respecting the mutilation of the Mercuries and the profanation of the mysteries had been discontinued previous to the departure of the Sicilian expedition, merely to remove with it the turbulent party of Alcibiades, they were resumed after it was gone; and on the circumstantial deposition of Andokides, several persons were put to death as accomplices; but the Salaminia was dispatched to bring back Alcibiades who was one of the accused: and v. 147 of "the Birds" evidently alludes to this last fact. Now, as throughout the piece there does not appear the slightest allusion to the result of this mission, which in truth was quite unexpected, and took a turn, which contrasted with the views¹⁵⁹ in which it had been dispatched, presented abundant materials for letting loose the comic humour of the poet on the deluded people, and on the runaway Alcibiades, it is evident that "the Birds" must have been exhibited before the return of the Salaminia. This is also probable from the circumstances of the time. The fleet sailed from the Peiræus in the middle of the summer of the 1st year of the 91st Olympiad.¹⁶⁰ However soon the inquiries were renewed after this event, a considerable period must have been occupied, according to the accounts of Andokides and Plutarch, in the depositions and

¹⁵⁹ Plutarch, Alcib. 21. Καὶ τέλος ἀπέστειλε τὴν Σαλαμινίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὐ φαέλωσ αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο προστάξας, μὴ βιάζεσθαι, μηδ' ἀπτεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μετρίῳ λόγῳ κεκρῆσθαι κελεύοντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ πείθειν τὸν δῆμον.

¹⁶⁰ Thucyd. VI. 30.

interrogatories, before the former made his declaration, and again before the Salaminia was dispatched, which was after the execution of such of the accused as had not ~~ran~~ away: and it took place as Plutarch expresses it at last. (καὶ τέλος) The Salaminia found Alcibiades in Sicily, engaged in carrying on the operations of the war at Catana.¹⁶¹ On the voyage home the ships touched at Thourion. Here Alcibiades made his escape, and the crew of the Salaminia remained there some time in search of him and his companions, before they resumed their voyage to Athens; and as soon as the vessel returned home, Alcibiades was in his absence sentenced to death.¹⁶² These events could not well have passed before the expiration of the winter of the second year of the 91st Olympiad, and in the month of March succeeding, "the Birds" was exhibited. We must mark well this exact period of time, (when the Salaminia having been a considerable time absent on its mission to bring back Alcibiades now held an enemy to the state and called home to be tried for his life, was not yet returned, and the public voice was still as decidedly in favour of the expedition, as it was now opposed to Alcibiades) in order to have a full comprehension of the poet's purpose, which was to represent this Sicilian expedition in its ultimate object, as it floated in the imagination of Alcibiades, but at the same time in a playful and joking manner, without irritating the people, and as a purely fanciful chimæra, as a thoroughly sophistical business, both in its original commencement, and in its latest details, conducted according to the selfish and ambitious views of Alcibiades, and likely to terminate in their accom-

¹⁶¹ Thucyd. VI. 52 fin. 53 init.

¹⁶² Thuc. VI. 63. Diodor. XIII. 5.

plishment. By these means the public mind was prepared beforehand for the reception of Alcibiades expected to return in the Salaminia. This last mentioned object of the poet's satire is developed more and more in the character of Peisthetairos, from the moment that Alcibiades is pointed out as the future sovereign in Nephelocokkygia; and it is in constant and perfect keeping with the first half of the action, in which his more prominently sophistical elements, the charms and delusion of oratory, act the principal part: thus is the character of this personage so well sustained, that the sophistical nature of the undertaking, and the sufferings it is calculated to bring upon the state, are throughout equally displayed; the selfish demagogue, fatal to the liberty of the people, is unmasked, and the vain sophist is held up to ridicule.

The next undertaking of Peisthetairos, with which the poet fills up the interval until the completion of the enclosure-wall can be announced, is the religious consecration, or dedication of the city, a ceremony indispensable for completing the new establishment. It cannot be necessary to enter into any excuse or even defence of the extravagant frivolity of this solemn ceremony,¹⁶³ however much it may suit the tone of ridicule, in which Aristophanes speaks of

¹⁶³ I think some change is required in the designation made by H. Dindorf, of the characters in this scene. In the Aldine, Junta, and other editions, variations also occur. The line 845, given to Euelpides, Voss has more correctly appropriated to the Epops. The reply of Peisthetairos is merely an answer and repetition of his summons to the Epops. On the other hand, the comic observations, with which the lines 868, 872, 877, 880, interrupt the prayer of the priest, are purely and solely suited to the character and part of Euelpides, who ever chiming in with each prayer, and repeating them mechanically, or tacking on to them his own observations, recalls and enhances by his simpleness the satiric raillery of the whole.

the gods in general, if we only observe, that at the very outset, (v. 848, 862) mention is twice made, and evidently not without intention, of sacrifices being to be offered τοῖς καινοῖς θεοῖς, and that in the very first lines of the second parabasis which follows this scene, (v. 1073) Diogenes of Melos the ἄθεος is conspicuously brought forward. This announces a connection with those καινοὶ θεοί, whom Socrates was accused of having introduced, with the dethronement of Jupiter as the god who governed the world, with that installation of the vortex god Δῖνος in his place, which in "the Clouds" is imputed to the subtle schools of sophistry and to their founder, and also with the private new-coined gods (κόμμα καινόν) of Euripides in "The Frogs" (v. 889); and it places before us at once the true and profound design of the poet; namely, to satirize in the liveliest manner this sophistical dethronement of the popular belief, by the removal of the old gods from the government of the world, and the raising up of the new bird-deities; and thus by the solemn mockery of a worship of these new deities, the feathered kings and queens of Olympus, to represent in its full absurdity and folly, the sophistical nature of the undertaking and of its advocates. Compared with the history of modern times, we might consider it a prophetic satire upon the dethronement of God in France, and the decree for setting up reason in his place, which was equally the child of false theory and political frenzy. If now we consider how intimately Alcibiades is mixed up with the subject in all its bearings, we shall see in "the Birds" how the view presented in "the Clouds," and still earlier in the Δαυδαῖς, is logically followed up in "the Birds;" and how a principle, first attacked in those two comedies, is here developed

and brought to a practical issue,¹⁶¹ which the poet had foreseen at its first germ, and of which he had given warning. The fruits of the school represented in "the Clouds," and of its discipline or system of education, appear in their maturity in "the Birds." Here, in the spirit of that school,¹⁶⁵ a demagogue plays with the people and their weaknesses, drives them to the summit of presumption and folly, in order to carry through an absurd project, which terminates in the triumph of his own thirst for power and glory. Out of the school in "the Clouds" there grows up in "the Birds" a city of the clouds. For Athens is ever in view as the central point of the whole scheme, and that city is exhibited as converted by sophistry into a *Nephelocokkygia*, as is particularly observable in line 1263 sq. Socrates himself is not passed over, (v. 1553 sq.) and even the fondness for horses and carriages, which in "the Clouds" is connected with the sophistic-rhetorical education of the youth, is here again brought forward in allusion to the young people of this new city. (v. 1126 sq. 1442 sq.)

The poet has compressed into this part of the action, which comprehends the middle of the play, many other circumstances bearing upon the Sicilian expedition and its equipment, well calculated to exhibit the former in a ridiculous point of view. The sacrifice

¹⁶¹ See App. G.

¹⁶⁵ In "the Knights," Aristophanes produces in Kleon himself the pattern of a demagogue in the Kleonic style; but in "the Birds," a demagogue of the modern sophistical mould. In the *Γῆρας*, as I conjecture, the demagogue is one in the true sense of the word, like Agorakritos in "the Knights." That there were two demagogues in this drama, and one of them Eukrates, was not what I meant to imply in my Essay on the *Γῆρας*. I make this observation in reference to the Allg. Lit. Zeit. May, 1827, p. 126.

is interrupted by various personages, implying allusions to the expedition, general and historical, and partly, perhaps, personal. An epic minstrel comes on, as unsubstantial as the kingdom of the clouds, shivering like the city in the air, which he celebrates in his song, (v. 941 sq. 950 sq.) and in a style as cold and declamatory as that of Gorgias.¹⁶⁶ By complimenting (v. 926) Peisthetairos with lines from an ode of Pindar, addressed to Hiero, the founder of the city of Aitna, he evidently lauds him as the father of the Sicilian expedition and of the future conquest of the island. Long, long before had he been praising the new city; (v. 921) and thus he becomes one of the many who, according to the historical notices formerly adduced, had been long dreaming of Sicily and its conquest, and who were now transported beyond all measure, by the expected realization of their dream. Poetical effusions of such inspiration could not have been wanting. Peisthetairos' astonishment at the rapidity with which the poet had heard of the new city, (v. 920, 957) becomes therefore a direct irony on this expression of the voice of the people. When the poet, in return for his panegyric, has been provided with the jacket and waistcoat which he had begged, and still shivering with cold, is driven away with his song, a conceited Chresmologos, or soothsayer steps in, with a pretended oracle of Bakis, which under the appearance of an allusion to the defeat at Orneai, (v. 967) points to an important spot on the coast of Peloponnesus, to which ultimately the whole expedition was to go; and he parodies an oracle then in general circulation, flattering to, and therefore prized

¹⁶⁶ The *Ψυχρόν* of Gorgias is censured by all the old rhetoricians, and is also visible in his speeches which are preserved. See the citations in Geel, 58 sq.

by, the people, in which the greatness of Athens was foretold under the image of an eagle soaring aloft in the air;¹⁶⁷ an oracle which, not by a double but by a triple application of the metaphor, (for αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέλῃσι may mean—1st, an eagle among the clouds—2dly, an eagle in the city of “the Clouds”—3dly, an eagle in the net of the fowler) was in a truly oracular manner equally portentous of good and evil. In this way the poet has not merely ridiculed the eagerness with which the Athenians practised divination, not merely the mischief and charlatanry of the various prophecies, by means of which, during the Peloponnesian war, party spirit and selfishness pursued their game, and to which Aristophanes was equally hostile with Thucydides, who considers no other prophecy of any importance, than that on the twenty seven years’ duration of the war (and which was fulfilled); but the ridicule is also pointedly directed against the crowds of oracles and other prophecies, which in senses directly opposed to one another, and as each party sought to work upon the people, made their appearance, at the time when the Sicilian expedition was in agitation, and as immediately bearing upon it.¹⁶⁸ It is equally in keeping with the views of Aristophanes on this state of things at Athens, and with the impatience of Peisthetairos at the frivolous objections to his scheme, (v. 961, 965) that he sends the soothsayer about his business, with a good beating, the man himself being well suited to the occasion, as a genuine vapourer and mist-gatherer. As soon as

¹⁶⁷ Bergler on “the Knights,” 1060.

¹⁶⁸ Plut. Nic. 13. Compare Goeller de situ Syrac. p. 36. By these observations, the judgment passed on Aristophanes’ mode of treating the oracles is somewhat different from that in the Essay entitled “Aristophanes and his times,” p. 369.

he has made his exit, enters a Geometrician who offers to do what is necessary for laying out the new city. (v. 999) Such people were every where employed, when allotments of land were to be measured in conquered countries, of which the people were one and all very greedy. Aristophanes' raillery is on other occasions also pointed as well against this greediness, as against geometry in its application to it.¹⁶⁹ But the mania for allotments of land was especially directed towards the fruitful island of Sicily, and it was one of the strongest motives to the expedition; as by it every one hoped to obtain with little trouble fine estates on the rich soil which was to be distributed amongst them.¹⁷⁰ It was, therefore, natural that the art of surveying should have its appropriate place in a representation which related to this expedition; at least it must make an offer of its services for the admeasurements which might possibly be wanted. Now the geometrician introduced by Aristophanes bears the name of Meton; and this is particularly deserving of our notice, as that mathematician was personally concerned in the movements which had preceded the expedition, and is said to have declared his opposition to it in a very decided manner.¹⁷¹ Although, therefore, this designation of the geometrician might be perfectly well explained, as an

¹⁶⁹ Nob. 202 sq. Vespaë. 715, and the Scholiasts and more recent commentators on both passages. Compare Boeckh's Political Economy of the Athenians, T. 1. p. 455 sq.

¹⁷⁰ Diodor. XIII. 2. *Οἱ τὸς ἀπαντες μετρωσόμενοι τοῖς ἑλλήσιν εἰς τείνον καταλθόντες ἤλπιζον τὴν Σικελίαν.* Id. ib. c. 30. *Εἰδαιμόνιστατοι γὰρ ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὴν εὐπορίαν, ὅσπερ τι βαρὺ φάρμακον, οὐ φέροντες, τὴν πελάγει τηλικαύτῃ ἀσφαγήμενην τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπεβίβησαν κληρονομήσαι τοῖς ἀποικόντων ἑαυτοῖς ἀποδιδόμενοι.* Comp. Pac. 250.

¹⁷¹ Plutarch. Nic. 13, Alcib. 17.

emblematic individualizing of the generic character by the name and person of the most celebrated mathematician of his time,¹⁷² yet we may naturally be tempted by the circumstance, to fancy it possible that Aristophanes might have had him also personally in view. Meton's opposition to the scheme was too public for Aristophanes to have been ignorant of it; and as in a subsequent part of the play he has introduced Socrates also, (who is known to have been very conspicuous, together with Meton, in opposing the expedition) with a similar or analogous allusion, it is probable that he was unwilling to pass by an opportunity of at least drawing the public attention to Meton likewise, by making the surveyor personate him. The only objection to the admission of a general and complete reference of this personage to Meton himself, arises from the different views which they severally took of the expedition. The dramatic Meton is its partisan, and makes a tender of his good offices to assist it; the historical Meton was its declared enemy. As such he partook also of the views of Aristophanes.

¹⁷² See Essay on the Clouds of Aristophanes, p. 21. The apparent confusion, there observed upon, in the words of Meton, disappears, if in line 1002 the comma is put in its right place, i. e., after *ἄνωθεν*, and omitted after *καμπύλον*, which would thus be joined to *διαβήτην*. The surveyor certainly made use of a rule and circle, in order to arrange his plan for the laying out of the city, that the streets might all lead from the centre to the circumference at equal distances, and in straight lines, 1007. He first fixed his centre, then *προσθεῖς*, 1001, and *προσπιθεῖς*, 1004; he might also do it *ἄνωθεν*, as the building is to fill the whole air. But he puts his circle in the centre: therefore *ενθεῖς*, 1003. The words *ἵνα ὁ κύκλος γένηται σοι τετράγωνος* are not to be understood as implying a squaring of the circle, but of the four angles, which would be formed at the centre, that the whole might be divided into four great quarters. There is, therefore, in these words only an appearance, intentional indeed, of a contradiction in terms.

There would then only remain the possibility, that the dislike of the comic poet to geometry in general,¹⁷³ (which with his prejudice against the system of scientific education that had been recently introduced, he shared with all the older generation of his fellow citizens,¹⁷⁴) and most especially his dislike to the surveyors of the expected allotments in Sicily, who were all promoters of the expedition, preponderated in the original design of the character; but that the conduct of the real Meton of history influenced the poet at its conclusion; for Peisthetairos, as the originator and chief of the expedition, ought in truth to have given a friendly reception to the officious minister of his projects:

¹⁷³ The same is also expressed in the connection between the study of geometry and the cloak-stealing related of Socrates in the clouds, 177 sq. for which, not on this account only, but because other similar strokes are aimed at Socrates by the comic writers, I have shown (Essay on "the Clouds," p. 17) that there must have been some groundwork in fact; though the object of the anecdote I have explained in the same manner as in the Essay entitled "Aristophanes and his Age," where it is objected to. On the other hand the raillery about measuring the jump of the flea by the flea's foot, in which, in the Symposium of Xenophon, VI. 8, the Syracusan indulges against Socrates, seems to me to have arisen solely from the well known passage in "the Clouds," by which Aristophanes means to ridicule indifferently all geometrical propositions and researches; and if the thing itself was said of the real Socrates, "the Clouds" will seem only to have responded to the public voice in this instance as in many others, in which he was abused; as, for example, in the sobriquet *ὁ φροντιστής* (Xenophon, I. c. 6). The question of the Syracusan, however, in Xenophon, *Εἰπέ μοι, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἔμοῦ ἀπέχει;* is weak and absurd. It must evidently be read *πόσους ψύλλων πόδας ἔμοῦ ἀπέχει;* how many fleas' feet art thou from me? This will then agree with what is said in "the Clouds," where Socrates, by a subtle refinement, has contrived to measure how many of its own feet lengths a flea had jumped from Chairephon's eyebrow to Socrates' head, in allusion at the same time to the dirty habits of these philosophers.

¹⁷⁴ See especially Isokrat. Panath. p. 320 sq. Bekk.

whereas on the contrary it is quite in the order of things that the person whose name and mask were those of a violent opposer of the business, although he makes an offer of his services, should be thrashed and driven off the stage by its patron. I will not, however, go beyond the bare possibility of this interpretation, as it may also be, that this expulsion of Meton, inconsistent as it is with the dramatic character of Peisthetairos, may have resulted from the combined view of the expedition which the poet entertained in his own person, and which is exhibited in his play; and this may be sufficient to explain it. The Episkopos or inspector, and the Psephismatopolos or dealer in decrees, who come in before the dedicatory sacrifice of the new state is completed, (1021 sq. 1034 sq.) are also persons who seek to profit by the expedition; and as this sort of people generally pushed themselves into colonies and dependent states, which they burdened with various charges and chicaneries, there can be no doubt that they speculated also on the Sicilian expedition, and followed it in great numbers. When then we see in this scene so many individuals produced in strict connection with the expedition, we may readily consider the prayers, which are offered up in it for the welfare of Nepheleokkygia and of its inhabitants, as so many allusions to the solemn consecration of the Sicilian fleet previous to its departure, by libations and vows for the success of the undertaking.¹⁷⁵ On this occasion the crews of the ships and the people on the beach repeated the words previously proclaimed by the herald;¹⁷⁶ and it is possible that the comic poet

¹⁷⁵ Thucyd. VI. 32. Diod. XIII. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Thucyd. I. c. Εὐχὰς δὲ τὰς νομιζομένας πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς οὐ κατὰ τὰν ἐκάστην ξύμπαντες δὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐποιοῦντο—Ξυνεπεύ-

meant to parody this ceremony by the repetitions, with which Euelpides chimes in with the prayers of the priest. The poet evidently views the whole as something unholy, and as undertaken without the blessing of the gods; hence the sacrifice is a poor and meagre performance, the scraps of a consecration, mere skin and bones; (v. 892, 899 sq.) and it is so often interrupted, that it cannot be completed, and the priest is obliged to take himself off, in order to produce a better and more perfect one. Altogether it is clearly a mockery of the religious ceremonies which preceded the expedition itself.

In the second epirrhematic parabasis, which occupies the stage during the absence of Peisthetairos, the very significative mention of Diogenes of Melos is accompanied by another allusion, which is no less connected with the contents of the preceding scene, and the object of the play; and which with that scene forms a complete whole. The chorus, in order especially to signalize the day on which it enters on the sovereignty, which it pretends will lead to the annihilation of every thing hurtful, (v. 1073) proclaims the reward of a talent for killing an atheist, and the same for killing one of the long deceased tyrants. This last might seem to be nonsense, or a mockery of the idle dread of tyrants, (which in truth was excessive in Athens, and which, as appears from Aristophanes, was at this time abundantly abused, for the purpose of blackening certain persons in the eyes of the people,¹⁷⁷) if the poet had not already so

χορτο ἐς καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν τε πολιτῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος εὐνοὺς παρῆν.

¹⁷⁷ In many passages in "the Knights," particularly 236 sq. 258 sq. 475 sq. In "the Wasps" also 345, 474, 483, 507. Lysist. 619, &c. But the many *ἐταρῶν* and *συνομιῶν* ἐπὶ *ἐκείνῃ* καὶ *ἀρχαίῃ*

earnestly expressed himself against those sophistical principles, which were leading to atheism, and against that selfish thirst for power, which was sophistry's twin sister. But as no one at that time had actually elevated himself to the tyranny, when he proclaimed the reward of a talent for any one who should there kill *τῶν τυράννων τινὰ*, and, to disguise his meaning, (*παρ' ὑπόνοιαν*) added the description *τῶν τεθνηκότων*, he could only have meant this ironically for *ἐφεστώτων*; thus pointing at his true purpose, in regard to the public apprehensions respecting Alcibiades and the oligarchical designs of his party;¹⁷⁸ and at the same time concealing it in deference to that party, by reminding them of the tyrants under whom the city had suffered long before. This second allusion comes indeed still closer to the description of Alcibiades contained in v. 836 sq.; (*ὦ νεοττὲ δέσποτα*) but the two together unite the elements which are developing themselves in the character of Peisthetairos.

The strophe and antistrophe (v. 1058, 1072, and 1088, 1101) seem to be harmless songs of the birds, who have now attained the supreme power, who are

in the city, furnished the best opportunity for carrying on all sorts of political schemes; and similar clubs were in fact made use of against the freedom of the people. Thucyd. VIII. 54. Compare Krüger on Dion. Hal. historiog. p. 362 sq.

¹⁷⁸ These oligarchs were after the sovereignty of the thirty, called *τύραννοι*, and particularly Kritias. See the passages adduced by N. Bach, in *Critiæ tyranni carm. quæ supersunt*, p. 5.

[It is remarkable that Thucydides also, in his narrative of the events of exactly this period in Athens, i. e. when after the departure of the fleet for Sicily, enquiries were instituted into the authors of the violation of the Hermai, and the profanation of the mysteries, informs us that the severity with which the *accused* were visited on this account was much heightened by a recollection of what had happened to their forefathers in the time of the Peisistratidai, i. e. the *τεθνηκότων τυράννων*: and he immediately enters into a long digression on the history of the death of Hipparchos. Tr.]

to protect the fields from the ravages of destructive vermin, and who are to be content with little. It is however remarkable that they boast so much of killing and murdering; particularly in the three lines (1069-1071) where the words ὑπ' ἐμῶς πτέρυγος, equivalent to ὑπ' ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς, are so general and so strong, that they can scarcely have been without some special purpose. But if we reflect on the hard-heartedness with which the Athenians exercised their sovereignty, the merciless manner in which on all occasions they treated the antidemocratical party in particular, their cruelty towards the inhabitants of Mitylene, of Torone, of Mende, of Skione, of Melos,¹⁷⁹ to which last the mention of Diagoras the Melian (v. 1073) directly points our attention, and their late conduct towards the aristocracy of Argos;¹⁸⁰ also that Aristophanes on other occasions in this play alludes to such hard-heartedness, and to the *τρόποι γαμψώνυχες* of the new rulers, (v. 1306) we the more readily understand both the irony, with which he makes the birds extol the happiness which will be the lot of those subjected to their dominion, and the bloody exterminations which he foresees. He then declares, by the tenor of the parabasis which follows, whom they ought properly to persecute.

As Peisthetairos on his reappearance announces (v. 1118) that the ceremony of consecration has been auspiciously completed, the action may now proceed. We may here observe that Euelpides, who during the negotiations with the poet, the soothsayer and the rest, acts a dumb part, seems not to come on

¹⁷⁹ Thucyd. III. 36, 50; IV. 3, 130; V. 32, 116. Comp. Isocr. Panath. p. 331, Bekker. Diodor. XIII. 30.

¹⁸⁰ Thucyd. VI. 61.

again with Peisthetairos; this character was only of use up to the accomplishment of the project, and it is now no longer wanted. At least there are no visible traces of him in the further progress of the story. A messenger puffing and blowing enters in haste, to announce the completion of the building of the wall, and by the expression τὸ τεῖχος ἐξωκοδομήται, (v. 1124) the poet transports us at once to the final object of the undertaking, i. e. to the fleet intended for the blockade of the Peloponnesos. The thirty thousand cranes from Libya (v. 1136) who bring the foundation stones for the wall, point in the same direction. For the conquest of Libya and of Carthage was to precede the last act of the expedition; and the blockade of the Peloponnesos was to be brought about by the aid of these countries, and of the others which were to be conquered. This explains too the six hundred and more birds clothed in panther skins, which Peisthetairos (v. 1250) threatens Jupiter to send into heaven against him. These are evidently Libyan troops to be introduced into the Peloponnesos; for the Numidian cavalry¹⁸¹ were clothed in the skins of the panther, a native of that part of the world.¹⁸² At length the announcement (v. 1159) that the wall is suitably provided with gates, that these are barred and bolted, and that every requisite for keeping a strict watch throughout the whole circuit was in order and in progress, denotes the really effective blockade and vigorous occupation of the most important points. Others have before observed, that Aristophanes in describing the breadth of the walls (v. 1126) must have had in his mind that with

¹⁸¹ Strab. XVII. 3, 7.

¹⁸² The commentators on Livy, XLIV. 18. and on Suetonius. Calig. 18.

which Themistokles enclosed the Peiræus, (Thuc. I. 93) as well as those of Babylon. The observation is just, as far as regards the image which he has chosen; but in reference to its import, and within the range of the poet's ideas, there was another and more appropriate object, namely, the great Sicilian expedition. The zeal and animation with which the equipments and manning of the fleet were conducted, its astonishing extent, perfection, and splendour, which were the wonder of strangers, and of all who crowded to have a sight of it,¹⁸³ were so much the more likely to be in the poet's view, when he was metaphorically depicting the extent, splendour, and magnificence, (κάλιστον ἔργον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον, v. 1185) of the still greater work with which it was to be crowned, as the one was in truth but the commencement and groundwork of the other. Peisthetairos' surprise that such a great work should have been so soon finished, so that the account of it seems to him at first to be a falsehood, (v. 1161) is not merely a cutting reflection on the frivolity and rashness, with which such a gigantic affair had been brought about in the fiction of the play, but is another mode of designating the chimerical project itself by its appropriate name.

The wall is no sooner finished, than the effect which it was to produce by the exclusion of the gods, begins to show itself in the unsuccessful attempt to send their messenger to the men, (v. 1170, 1266) to order

¹⁸³ Thucyd. VI. 31. Οἱ δὲ ξένοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος κατὰ Θέαν ἦκεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀξιοχρεῶν καὶ ἄπιστον διάνοιαν· παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη πρώτη ἐκπλεῦσασα μιᾷ πόλει ἐνὶ ἡμέρᾳ Ἑλληνικῇ πολυτελεστάτη ἔη καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο — καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἦσσαν τόλμης τε θάρσεως καὶ ὀψεως λαμπρότητι περιβόητος ἐγένετο, ἢ στρατιᾶς, πρὸς οὗς ἐπήγεσαν, ὑπερέουλῃ. Compare Diod. XIII. 2.

them to forward up to the gods the arrears of the steam of sacrifices. (v. 1230 sq.) In order to explain this, I must premise that many traits have been interwoven into this scene, and with the description of the building of the wall, which clearly show that the allusion is to a naval expedition. I shall not lay much stress on the fact, that the work is described as exclusively the labour of fen and water birds: but the numerous nautical images and expressions, the noise of hewing the wood for the gates, compared to that of a dock-yard (*ὥσπερ ἐν ναυπηγίῳ*, v. 1157) the address to Iris, (*πλῶδιον ἢ κυνῇ*, v. 1203) the word *τριέμβολον*, (v. 1256) then again *ὧ κατακέλευσον*, (v. 1273) and *ὠόπ* (v. 1394) appear to have flowed naturally from the object the poet had in his mind, into his allegorical representation; or rather to have been purposely admitted into it, in order to enable us thereby to penetrate its meaning. In this view we may perceive an allusion in the nautical metaphor contained in the question *τὼ πτέρυγε ποῖ ναυστολεῖς*; which in any other sense would not be noticed. But the *ὅτι δ' εἶχε πτερὰ* (v. 1176) and the *πτερωτὸς φθόγγος* (v. 1198) leave no doubt that Iris made her appearance with large wings upon her shoulders.¹⁸⁴ Now the sails and oars of ships are frequently compared to the pinions of birds, and these again to oars; and flying is compared to rowing and sailing, and vice versa.¹⁸⁵ We may therefore fairly take the wings of

¹⁸⁴ Comp. Boettiger on the painted vases of the Greeks, B. I. P. 2. p. 112.

¹⁸⁵ See particularly Meursius and Potter on Lycophron, 24. Stanley and Blomfield in the Glossary to the Prometheus of Æschylus, 468, and Blomfield in that to the Agamemnon, 551. The experiment which the Argonauts made with the pigeon, which lost part of its tail by the closing of the Symplegades, as their ship suffered afterwards in her stern, is founded on the common comparison of a ship with a bird. Apollon. Rhod. II. 572, 601. Apollod. I. 9, 22.

Iris as symbolical of sails, or (according to the scholia on v. 1203) of oars; and this acceptation is, I think, still more clearly pointed out, by the combination of wings with the nautical term in the question τῷ πτέρυγε ποῖ ναυστολεῖς; and the employment of the word πλοῖον in the question already put to Isis, (v. 1203) ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστι, πλοῖον ἢ κυνῆ; is referable to the same source. The messenger must have worn a κυνῆ or helmet as a covering to her head, an attribute given to the same goddess in the fragment from the Inachos of Sophokles, preserved in the Scholiast.¹⁸⁶ Such a κυνῆ, or leathern helmet, with a broad brim in front to protect the face from the sun and rain, was worn on a journey, as by Ismene in the Œdipus Koloneus of Sophokles,¹⁸⁷ and it is therefore a very proper attribute of Iris as well as of Mercury, who may have brought it with him into Olympos, from Arkadia his native land. This covering for the head was however in common use in Peloponnesos, in Arkadia, and particularly amongst the Lacedæmonians, which last people especially wore it in war.¹⁸⁸ As Iris' wings then denote a ship, so does her travelling hat denote a Peloponnesian soldier, and thus is explained the doubt of Peisthetairos, whether to call her πλοῖον ἢ κυνῆ. The answer to the question as to her name is Ἴρις ταχεῖα, which he accepts as assenting also to the πλοῖον, and implying by the epithet ταχεῖα, a fast sailer.¹⁸⁹ Then follows the question,

¹⁸⁶ As amended by Toup. Ep. crit. p. 42. Lips.

¹⁸⁷ Oed. Colon. v. 314, and on the passage, Reisig, who quotes the fragment of Kallimachos in the Scholiast with Næcke's happy emendation not known to the Leipsick impression of the Laurentian Scholia.

¹⁸⁸ Valckenaer on the Adoniazousai of Theokritos, p. 345. Compare Müller Hist. of the Hellenic Races, P. 3. p. 40.

¹⁸⁹ Schol. Ἐπεὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτὴν εἶπεν αὐταὶ ἔε αἱ τριήρεις, ὥς ἂν

Πάραλος ἢ Σαλαμίνα; now both these, as is well known, were fast-sailing Athenian government packets. When then the poet puts these words into the mouth of Peisthetairos, "Which of these two ships art thou?" he implies that under this disguise he meant to be understood such a swift government packet as might appropriately bear the name of Iris, and the ἐπίσημον, or παράσημον¹⁹⁰ corresponding to that name. It is clear then that under the disguise of this swift Iris is represented some swift sailing packet belonging to the blockaded Peloponnesians, which has slipped through the blockading squadron, and which is to visit the smaller states still holding to them, and to summon them to pay up the arrears of taxes and contributions and other obligations. The ship has reached the sea, which is covered with the Athenian fleet, and being instantly detected and chased by them, (v. 1179 sq.) she comes to where the scene lies, i.e. to Athens itself, where her voyage is stopped, and she is sent back with a threatening message to her employers. The wings of the deity, the rustling of her fluttering motion, (v. 1197) her swift flight through the strange city and through the air,¹⁹¹ (v. 1218) her chase by the birds of prey (v. 1179 sq.) that is by men of war and the troops on board them, by whose rapid movements to and fro, the air, that is the sea, is put into commotion, the Koliarchs and the Ornitharchs (v. 1212, 1215) by which we are to understand the captain of the vessel and others in command, the στύομαι τριέμβολον,¹⁹²

ὑπερέτιδες οὔσαι, ταχέϊα ἦσαν.—Jul. Pollux 1, 83. Λέγοιτο δ' ἂν ταχέϊα ναῦς καὶ ταχυναντοῦσα.

¹⁹⁰ Scheffer de milit. nav. p. 170 and 174. Ruhnken. de tutelis et insignibus navium, in opusc. p. 267 sq. and 285.

¹⁹¹ Χάος the air. Schol. and Spanheim's note on v. 424 of "the Clouds."

¹⁹² [We may here suppose that Peisthetairos puts himself into the

(v. 1256) by which words Peisthetairos threatens Iris in her character of a ship with fixing her to the ground, are so many traits which altogether belong to the dressing up of the piece, but which at the same time easily harmonise with the general purport of the poet. Εὐράξ, πατάξ, (v. 1258) may also be assumed to be naval words of command. Εὐράξ is the equivalent of ἐκ πλαγίου, or πλαγίως, obliquely; as it occurs once and again in the wounds of Homeric heroes;¹⁹³ and joining this with πατάξ, the order would be πλαγίως ἐπιφέρεσθαι καὶ πατάσσειν, or to run the ship's beak or head against the enemy's beam, which was the most formidable mode of attack; and Peisthetairos would give this command, as if dispatching one of his squadron against Iris to force her to an immediate retreat, in allusion to the words already quoted, στύομαι τριέμβολον. Besides this allusion, it may also be understood as implying a real blow given to the person. The exclamation ὦ κατέλευσον, with which the herald afterwards calls upon Peisthetairos to order him as a κελευστής or pilot to stop, and the ὥπ by which Peisthetairos (v. 1394) bids Kinesias halt! appear to be further echoes of the tone of command assumed towards Iris. Peisthetairos' language (v. 1226) to the messenger in defiance of the gods, expresses the pretensions to the Hegemonia and sovereign authority, which were to be realized, in opposition to the Peloponnesians, by the projected blockade. But whilst Peisthetairos, as spokesman of the birds, throws out threats, like those of the heaven-invading giants, (v. 1246) and the docile birds are congratulating themselves on having excluded the gods

attitude of Neptune, dextrâ tridentem jaculantis, so common on the coins of Athens. 'Tr.]

¹⁹³ Schol. on Il. XI. 251. Apollon. Lex. Homer. v. εὐράξ.

from their city, and deprived them of their victims, (v. 1263) the character of the sophistical atheist—who cannot however help swearing by Jupiter at the very moment when he is defaming him, as do also in “the Clouds,” (v. 1282) both the Jove denying Strepsiades and Socrates himself, (v. 331)—and the main feature of the expedition as the child of sophistry, are steadily maintained; and the references to the Athenians, who had evinced such a ready susceptibility for the doctrines and principles of sophistry, are never lost sight of.

Immediately after the dismissal of Iris, we perceive the full effects, which the undertaking is producing upon mankind. In the first place, the herald on his return from the men, announces the highly favourable result of the summons addressed to them. (v. 1271 sq.) They are so transported by their enthusiasm for the new city of the birds, and by their admiration of its founder, that they not only instantly adopt the manners of the birds and their whole mode of life, but rush along in troops to get themselves clothed as birds, and to bestow a golden crown of honour on Peisthetairos. The effect which the event has produced amongst the men is described, as if the most eager and zealous Ornithomania (v. 1286, 1290) had driven away the Lakonomania, to which the men had previously given themselves up. (v. 1281) This contrast of Lakonomania and Ornithomania points clearly to political contrasts, and its meaning is not left unexplained, the latter being in all its points a most palpable and satirical imitation of the manners and character of the Athenians. For even in the application of the agnomens, under which they are to be incorporated, it is not merely that these are derived from birds, and individuals

thus become direct objects of the satire, but this satirical stroke itself is altogether taken from the sneering and gibing habits of the Athenians, which led them to detect the striking peculiarities of their countrymen, and to give them appropriate nicknames;¹⁹⁴ of which so many examples occur in Aristophanes, particularly in "the Birds." Again, in the mention of the *τρόποι γαμψώνυχες* (v. 1306) there is a severe allusion to the political robberies, which the Athenians practised in no mild form upon their dependent states. Athenomania thus becomes the contrast properly intended by the poet to Lakonomania, just as if in verse 1284, over *ὀρνιθομανοῦσι*, he had written between the lines *ἀθηνομανοῦσι*, which agrees with the metre, and explains equally well the *ὀρνιθομάνουν* in v. 1290. It is true, indeed, that manners and usages only are cited as marks of these contrasts; but these must be considered as outward and visible manifestations and consequences of political attachment to the one or the other side; as in "the Wasps" also (v. 474 sq.) Lacedæmonian habits are given as proofs of political Lakonismos. The expression *ἔσωκράτουν* (v. 1282) deserves also particular notice, implying as it does the summary of a rigid Spartan-like life,¹⁹⁵ but containing also an allusion to a spirit, which was opposed to the undertaking represented by this drama; and Socrates is expressly cited in history, together with Meton, as one of the principal opponents of the expedition.¹⁹⁶ The attack made upon him in v. 1553 has a different

¹⁹⁴ Compare Athen. VI. p. 242, b. sq. and particularly the fragment from the Ulysses of Anaxandrides, p. 243, c.: Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀλλήλους αἰεὶ χλευάζετε, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁹⁵ Wythenbach. Plut. Moral. p. 244 sq.

¹⁹⁶ Plut. Alc. 17, Nic. 13.

application. The real purport therefore of the announcement by the herald, is that the state of politics hinted at in v. 524 sq. and which we have already explained, was completely changed, and that the sovereignty of the Athenians over all the dependent states of Greece had been substituted for that of the Spartans. It is a matter of doubt, to what period of time the Scholiast on the word *ἐλακωνομάνουν*, (v. 1281) applies his observation *τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχειν τοὺς Λάκωνας τῷ πολέμῳ τότε*, but it proceeded from a just application of the passage to political circumstances. However, according to the fable of the play, the new empire of the birds is their mundane dominion over all mankind, far above the gods; and herein lies the close affinity between the philosophical import of the drama, based on an internal moral principle, and the political import of it pointing to external circumstances. When then the herald (v. 1278) assures Peisthetairos that he knows not how he is honoured by mankind, and how many fond admirers the city in the air, which he had founded, had obtained for him, and when he announces a crowd of new arrivals requesting admission into it, the deep rooted passion for sophistry, and the extension of its principles and nature, are at once proclaimed. And when the same herald panegyryzes over and over again the founder of such city for his wisdom and his magnificence, (v. 1271, 1272, 1274) it is clearly a persiflage on the sophist represented by Peisthetairos, whose character is employed by the poet, as the point of union in which the two tendencies of his drama are incorporated and combined. The inexhaustible profusion of compliments addressed by this herald to the object of his praise, with which he is quite out of breath, and is obliged

to beg Peisthetairos himself to bid him stop, the universality of the fame of Peisthetairos, which rings through the whole world, and the crown of honour which is presented to him in the name of the people, (οἱ πάντες λεῖψ', v. 1278) are all so many fine and pertinent strokes, to hold up to ridicule the vanity of the sophist; and they are especially aimed at Gorgias, to whom no sophist could at that time be compared for extensive reputation, who had already been glorified throughout Greece, and whom the greatest of all honours, a golden statue at Delphi, yet awaited. It almost seems that Aristophanes had a presentiment that he was destined to arrive at this distinction.

Immediately after the announcement of the herald, samples of the species of men who are flocking towards the city, appear upon the stage. When the chorus¹⁹⁷ (v. 1332 sq.) has assorted and arranged the plumages for singing birds, for birds of prey, (the *μαντικοί*) and for the sea-birds, a parricide is introduced, who, attracted by the proclamation in v. 767 sq. wishes to be an eagle; then a specimen of poets in the person of the dithyrambic poet Kinesias, so frequently ridiculed by Aristophanes, (v. 1372) who wants to be a nightingale; and a young sycophant, (v. 1410 sq.) who wishes to have the plumage of a bird of prey, a hawk, or falcon, (v. 1454) in order to fly to and fro' over the sea, to the islands, and back again to the city, (1424 sq. 1454 sq.) and thus the easier to cheat and pillage the subjects (ξέινοῦς) by informations and officious law-suits. By this we are to understand all kinds of persons who, their whole nature being

¹⁹⁷ Porson proposes to read *περιέργων* instead of *περῶν* in the antistrophe, v. 1325; but this would be inconsistent with lines 1306, 1307, 1310, 1311, 1330, and several others: besides it would then be necessary to read *τάνδε πόλιν* for *τὰν πόλιν*, in v. 1313.

tainted by sophistical principles,¹⁹⁸ feel themselves at once, as it were, in a state of affinity with the undertaking, are enthusiastic in its cause, and promise themselves advantage from it; youths of that description, whom Plutarch and Diodoros in passages already cited call νεόους—ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένους and μεμετεωρισμένους, in conformity with the expression of our poet, (v. 1447 sq.) Ὑπὸ γὰρ λόγων ὁ νοῦς μεμετεωρίζεται Ἐπαίρεται τ' ἄνθρωπος. Moreover these personages, and particularly the sycophant, together with those who had before been introduced, namely, the geometrician, the episkopos or inspector, and the dealer in decrees, are specimens of the sort of people, with which the Athenian sovereignty, should the expedition succeed, was to shower blessings upon the world. In his manner of treating them, Aristophanes distinctly shows himself at times in his own proper colours. He advises the parricide, whom he does not consider as incorrigible, not to beat his father, (v. 1364) for the birds beat their parents only so long as they were little, but as soon as they are fledged, in obedience to the antient laws,¹⁹⁹ they support them; (v. 1354) and he urges him instead of flying over the waters, to enter the military service, and to join the war on

¹⁹⁸ See p. 25 sq. and 29 of Essay on "the Clouds:" and in respect to the poets, compare v. 837 of "the Peace" and the commentators.

¹⁹⁹ What is here said of the antient laws of the Storks, connected with the fragment out of the Πελάρχοι of Aristophanes in the Scholia on v. 1239 of "the Wasps," and compared with v. 1325 sq. and 1355 sq. of "the Clouds" and 1338 sq. of "the Wasps," proves that the political education of the Athenians was the subject of the Πελάρχοι: but in the Scholia here cited, we ought to read Ἡρόδικος, and not Ἀρμόδιος: for Herodikos, and not Harmodios, had written a work in several books entitled Κωμφοδοίμενοι, or Κωμφοδούμενα. Athen. XIII. p. 586, a. and p. 591, c. and Schweighaeuser in the Index auctorum. Ἀρμόδιος has crept in from the Ἡρόδικος in the foregoing fragment.

the Thracian frontiers, (v. 1368) where in truth several remarkable cities, which had deserted the Athenian alliance, and amongst them the important Amphipolis,²⁰⁰ had not yet been reduced to submission. This last advice is quite in the spirit of Nicias, who counselled the Athenians,²⁰¹ instead of venturing on their last ill-fated expedition against Sicily, rather to secure their present possessions, and to reduce to their authority the revolted districts of Thrace. The ridicule of Kinesias also, and the ignominious dismissal of the hardened sycophant, are not the offspring of the character of Peisthetairos, but of that of the poet. But to describe this as a deviation from that character, and as illogical, would betray a very superficial view of the real nature of the old comedy; in which the perpetual intermixture of poetry with reality, puts into the mouths of the actors allusions and witticisms, not immediately springing from their characters, and admits of interlocutory intrusions by the poet himself in the personages of his drama. This last is ever the case with Aristophanes, when he is too much in earnest to endure any longer his own irony; and the serious tone which he then assumes, contrasted with his irony, renders the latter more palpable, and heightens its effect. Not to cite less important passages of this description, some of which have already been noticed, we have only to call to mind the Bacchus of "the Frogs," who, an enthusiastic votary of Euripides and of every laxity of principle, and who in the first half of the piece is the avowed representative of degenerate tragedy, is at once elevated to its true spirit, and begins to speak and judge like Aristophanes himself; without our being able to see, by what means he has

²⁰⁰ Thuc. IV. 108.

²⁰¹ Ib. VI. 10.

been converted, and is arrived at a better notion of things. In the midst, however, of all this, the odour of incense is again scattered abroad, as an offering to the sophist and to his wisdom, (v. 1401) *χαριέιτα γ' ὧ πρεσβῦτ' ἐσοφίσω καὶ σοφά.*

The dominion of the birds is now re-established among the men; and the credit of Peisthetairos is every where extended, as of the clever, shrewd inventor of the project which is based upon it. But in the conduct of the story all depends upon how they succeed against the gods, without whose humiliation the dominion of the birds, even over the men, cannot be secured. The further progress of the play can therefore only receive its proper developement in reference to them; and it is advanced by the slinking in of a disguised traitor (v. 1494 sq.) who informs Peisthetairos of the sad way, in which the affairs of the gods are going on. Famine has got in amongst them, since mankind have ceased to sacrifice, and the steam of sacrifices also can no longer penetrate to them; (v. 1515 sq.) upon this a civil war threatens to break out amongst them, and in order to put an end to the scarcity, they determine to send ambassadors to Peisthetairos, to conclude a treaty of amity. (v. 1551 sq.) The intriguer advises him not to give way, unless Jupiter will abdicate his sceptre to the birds, and give Basileia in marriage to Peisthetairos. The personage aptly chosen for this character is Prometheus, equally in reference to the subtle and provident circumspection, which is implied in the character, as well as in the name, (v. 1511) and also to his mythical intercourse with mankind in the affair of his stealing fire from heaven. (v. 1545 sq.) I have already observed on another occasion,²⁰² that

²⁰² In my treatise on the historical character of the drama. Transactions of the Academy of Sciences, 1825, hist. philol. Class. p. 121.

the representation of this personage in Aristophanes appears to be a caricature of the Prometheus in the satirical play of Æschylos, which turned upon that theft; and this would suffice for a superficial explanation of the character and the scene before us. But Aristophanes had many closer archetypes for this character in the history of his own times; as during the course of the Peloponnesian war there is no siege, no sudden attack, or coup de main, from the surprize of Plataia by the Thebans to the taking of Athens by the Spartans, in which either the partisans of the aristocracy, or those of the democracy, according to circumstances, (those I mean within the walls)—οἱ ξυμπράσσουντες, οἱ φίλοι τῶν ἔξω, οἱ προδιδόντες, continually occur in Thucydides—did not hold correspondence with the assailants, betraying to them the position and places of their enemies, showing them the ways and means of getting in, and thus seeking to secure themselves against either event; frequently also by stirring up a revolt, (στασιάζοντες) like the Triballican gods in the play, (v. 1520) they led the way to this species of intercourse, and brought about the surrender. Such being the invariable course of events, it was sufficient of itself to lead the poet, to conduct by means of a similar system of concert and intelligence, the story of the undertaking which he exhibits; being that of an extensive siege and blockade, the true nature of which, namely, a maritime blockade, he here also points out, by the demand of the Triballican gods, that Jupiter should re-open to them their harbours. (τ' ἐμπόρῳ ἀνεωγμένα, v. 1523) Here this system of intrigue takes a direction suited to the purport of the piece. In the earlier part of the drama, Peisthetairos had wheedled the birds, by representing to them, that he would procure for them the sovereignty, (Βασιλεία, v. 467, 549) and he had

announced as the end of his project, that he would replace them on the throne as kings. (v. 562, 568) But now, when he has got their affairs entirely into his own hands, he is advised by the arch dissembler, who knows well the distinction between the two, to stipulate with Jupiter, the king of the gods, from whom, according to Homer, all sovereignty proceeds, that he should give up the sceptre to the birds, but Basileia to him, Peisthetairos, as a wife. (v. 1535, τὸ σκῆπτρον—τοῖσιν ὄρνισιν—καὶ τὴν Βασιλείαν σοὶ γυναικ' ἔχειν) And not to leave in the dark the real meaning of the latter, Basileia is described as the arbitress, of every thing by which the democracy in Athens was governed, (v. 1538, τὸν κεραυνὸν τοῦ Διὸς, of which more hereafter) of every thing they were in want of, (v. 1539, τὴν εὐβουλίαν, τὴν εὐνομίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην) of the real groundwork and basis of their power, (τὰ νεώρια) of their finances and the pay of the dicasts; (τὸν κωλακρέτην, τὰ τριώβολα) and in order to render it still more farcical,²⁰³ (in reference to their crowding in and out of the assemblies)²⁰⁴ she is said to be also mistress of wrangling and abuse; (τὴν λοιδορίαν v. 1541) Basileia is in short the epitome of the substance and power of the Athenian republic.²⁰⁵ Thus the true meaning of the advice imparted to Peisthetairos, is to leave to his republic of birds the external marks of sovereignty, but to take to himself the real power in the state; and what is said of the nature and

²⁰³ Schol. on v. 1541. Εἰς αὐξήσιν δὲ τῆς κωμωδίας τοῦτο φησί.

²⁰⁴ Ecclesiast. 142. Καὶ λοιδοροῦνται γ' ὥσπερ ἔμπεπώκοτες.

²⁰⁵ This interpretation exactly coincides with the contents of a fragment of Telekleides in Plut. Perikl. 16; in which this comic writer says that the Athenians had given up to Perikles—

Πόλεων τε φόρους, αὐτὰς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἀναλύνειν,
 Λαῖνα τείχη τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ πάλιν καταβάλλειν,
 Σπονδὰς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτον τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

extent of this power, is all referable to the Athenian constitution. Hence it is clear that the story still proceeds with a direct application to Athens, and to Athenian circumstances; and Aristophanes begins to develop the direction, which in its further progress might be given to the Sicilian expedition. The ground for this direction he took from the well known sentiments of Alcibiades, from his habits, relations and connections, and from the public opinion respecting him. We have already shown that Alcibiades was suspected of antidemocratical views, and of a desire to be sole ruler of his own country. But this, his ambition, was viewed also, as in close and direct connection with the Lacedæmonians. For there was an ancestral hospitality between the family of Alcibiades and the house of the ephor Endios in Sparta, in consequence of which he, as well as his grandfather, had received the Lacedæmonian name of Alcibiades.²⁰⁶ That his wet-nurse was a Lacedæmonian woman of the name of Amykla,²⁰⁷ may have arisen simply from such nurses being generally in request at Athens, on account of their healthiness, hardiness, and wholesome diet; but amongst other circumstances, this was not lost sight of by his adversaries. His grandfather had indeed renounced the Proxeneia in Sparta, but he himself had endeavoured to renew the connection by his attentions to the Spartans taken at Sphakteria; and though he afterwards caused the miscarriage of an embassy sent by Sparta to Athens to conclude a treaty, he did it chiefly from jealousy of Nicias, and from a feeling of slighted vanity.²⁰⁸ All this was well

²⁰⁶ Thucyd. VIII. 6; and the commentators on the passage.

²⁰⁷ Plut. Alc. 1. Schol. on Plato, p. 388, Bekker.

²⁰⁸ Thuc. V. 43 sq.; VI. 89.

calculated to excite a suspicion, that he was inclined to avail himself of the Lacedæmonians, who favoured the aristocratical party, to secure the success of those antidemocratical projects, which were always attributed to him on account of his general conduct. As, therefore, just at the time when the greatest excitement existed against him in consequence of the mutilation of the Mercuries, and the desecration of the mysteries, shortly before the Salaminia was despatched to bring him back from Sicily, a small body of Spartans was advancing to the Isthmus, it was thought that this movement had taken place at his suggestion, and in concert with him, in order to assist him and his fellow-conspirators in overturning the Athenian constitution.²⁰⁹ Somewhat later, after his escape, the Lacedæmonians did in fact invite him to Sparta.²¹⁰ It might, therefore, easily be presumed that Alcibiades, as soon as he had attained his object in the Sicilian expedition, would have availed himself of his good understanding with Sparta, to overthrow the democracy in his native country, and to set up and establish himself as its master. Athens would then be the preponderating state in Greece, and he would be her tyrant, (v. 1508) and consequently the ruler of the whole of Hellas. The republic would have been in nearly the same circumstances, as she was under Peisistratos and his sons in regard to the constitution of Solon. Every thing would have gone on, as far as forms were concerned, in the ordinary course. The Demos would in appearance have been the monarch of Hellas, as it is greeted in "the Knights;" (v. 1330) but subjected to the powerful hand and will of Alcibiades, as is pointed out in lines 1538, 1543. It is this possible

²⁰⁹ Thuc. VI. 61.

²¹⁰ Ib. VI. 88.

and not improbable turn, which the success of the Sicilian expedition would have given to the projects of Alcibiades, that Aristophanes now lays before the Athenians; not that it is necessary to suppose, in reference to the scene with Prometheus, that it was intended that every thing, which this counsellor advised Peisthetairos to do, had already been prompted to Alcibiades by his Lacedæmonian friends. There was no occasion for that. All these ambitious thoughts and schemes essentially existed in Alcibiades himself, ready to develope themselves according to circumstances. In the drama they are only fully announced by the opposite party, and they appear as the counsel of another, which Peisthetairos adopts and follows up. But if Alcibiades had completely succeeded in his expedition, he would have really stood in the situation, in which Peisthetairos is exhibited in this scene with Prometheus. He would really have restored the sovereignty of Athens; this brilliant result would have exalted his influence and his power in the state; the Lacedæmonians would in all probability have preferred an amicable treaty with him to a war of extermination; nor was it beyond the bounds of possibility, especially under the exclusively aristocratical system of the Spartan government, that he should have entered into an alliance with them, on condition of their acknowledging the Hegemonia of the Athenians; whilst they assisted him in the acquisition of the full mastery over Athens, and secured him in the possession of it. The good friends who tendered their services for this purpose are here represented by Prometheus, whom Peisthetairos acknowledges as such, immediately upon his disclosing himself. (v. 1501)

The ambassadors of the gods announced by Pro-

metheus, make their appearance soon after he quits the scene. (v. 1565) These are Neptune, Hercules, and one of the Triballoi. They come with full powers to treat for the suspension of hostilities, and for raising the blockade. (v. 1532, 1577, 1588, 1595) However furious Hercules appears, (v. 1575) he is soon calmed (v. 1587 sq.) by Peisthetairos' taking him on his weak side; (v. 1579) and the prospect of a good dinner induces him, (v. 1602) who is always hungry, and is now half-starved, (v. 1604, 1691) to accept without more ado Peisthetairos' proposals for the restoration of the sceptre to the birds; (v. 1600) whereas Neptune consents only, (v. 1614) after the advantages, which will thence accrue to the gods, have been made quite clear to him. (v. 1606 sq.) This part of the treaty is thus easily brought about by the unanimity of the three ambassadors. (v. 1631) The second condition, namely, that Basileia shall be made over to Peisthetairos as a wife, meets with greater difficulty; (v. 1634) this being a consideration that regards him personally is distinctly separated from the first condition, and forms the subject of a special negotiation. On this occasion too Hercules, seduced by the banquet which is preparing for him, is quite ready to agree; and it is only when Neptune, who has decidedly rejected the claim, (v. 1635) represents to him that it would be prejudicial to his own interests, (v. 1641) that he is made to waver; but Peisthetairos soon reasons him out of his objection.²¹¹ (v. 1646, 1670) The promise of momentary advantage at once convinces him; (v. 1672) and as the Triballian likewise gives in his accession, (v. 1677 sq.) and Neptune recalls (v. 1683) his nega-

²¹¹ In the line 1671, αἰκίαν βλέπων is not to be rendered "like one preparing to strike," but "like one who has been struck."

tive, (v. 1676) this condition also is obtained, and the treaty is concluded. (v. 1685) On this Peisthetairos, at the invitation of Hercules, (v. 1686) accompanies the ambassadors to the seat of the gods, which was till now in a state of siege, in order to effect the execution of the treaty, and to receive Basileia in marriage.

The characters who personate the plenipotentiaries in this negotiation are important; and he who would understand the play of "the Birds" would naturally ask, why the poet has chosen for his purpose Hercules, Neptune, and a Triballian god. There is no difficulty in answering this question, if we consider the point of view, in which we have explained the rest of the piece. These three ambassadors represent the Lacedæmonians with their principal allies, against whom the expedition ridiculed in "the Birds" is really directed. Hercules, the national hero of the Dorians, the ancestor of the kings of Sparta, in whom the Peloponnesians and the Bœotians acknowledge a common origin,²¹² might represent both nations, consequently also the Thebans, who, in the then state of affairs, followed the fortunes of the Peloponnesians: and the allegorical sense, in which he is here introduced, may be compared to that, in which his exploits were represented in conjunction with those of Theseus, on the temple of this hero built at Athens by Kimon a partizan of the Lacedæmonians. This union of their respective national heroes was in all probability intended as symbolical of the recon-

²¹² Müller's History of the Hellenic Races, vol. ii. p. 411, &c.

²¹³ This is Kruse's view in his *Hellas*, Part II. p. 117. The union of the two heroes might also admit of another explanation; as their histories were interwoven with each other, their deeds have a certain resemblance; and Plutarch always represents Hercules as the proto-

ciliation of the Ionian and Dorian races.²¹³ The gluttony of Hercules, of which it may be doubted whether it belonged to the earlier histories of this personage,²¹⁴ or might not rather have been attributed to him in consequence of the rude appetite of his Bœotian kindred, was in either case frequently turned to account as an object of national ridicule;²¹⁵ though, however well it was adapted to comedy, it never ought to have been admitted even into the narrative parts of a tragedy.²¹⁶ This disposition, I say, of Hercules is admirably made use of by Aristophanes, as a dramatic motive for bringing the negotiation to a conclusion; and very differently from the Ἡρακλεῖς μάττοντες in other comic poets, whom Aristophanes censures in "the Peace." (v. 741) As Hercules is the representative of the continental allies of the Peloponnesians, Neptune is that of their maritime allies, and more particularly of the Corinthians, as patron of the Isthmian games: and it is remarkable how the behaviour of Neptune in this scene tallies with the conduct of that people during the Peloponnesian war. For as the Corinthians were always more violent against the Athenians than the Lacedæmonians themselves, as they excited these last to the war, refused to accede to the peace of Nicias,

type which Theseus endeavoured to imitate. But the Lakonismos of Kimon decides in favour of the former view, to which his supposed intention in uniting the two heroes is quite appropriate. In conformity with this symbolical interpretation, Aristeides also, Pauath. Opp. I. p. 486, represents the friendship of Hercules and Theseus as a pattern for imitation by those who acknowledged the same common ancestors.

²¹⁴ See Müller ut supr. p. 456.

²¹⁵ See the commentators on v. 60 of "the Wasps," and Welcher on the translation of "the Frogs," p. 143.

²¹⁶ It need scarcely be mentioned that I here allude to the Alcestis of Euripides, 757 sq. ed. Herm.

and afterwards helped to persuade them to the renewal of hostilities, so is Neptune more difficult about resigning the sceptre; and he is decidedly opposed to giving up Basileia; and he at last gives his tacit consent to it, only because the two others had outvoted him. It is plain that the barbarian nations situated higher up to the north of Greece are typified by the barbarian gods; (v. 1520, 1525) and allusions are made to their situation in the words *ἄνωθεν* (v. 1526) and *ἄνω*. (v. 1526, 1533)²¹⁷ The Triballoi, a powerful people to the west of the Odryssai,²¹⁸ had defeated and put to death²¹⁹ their king, Sitalkes, an ally of Athens,²²⁰ if not in strict concert with, certainly to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians, whose influence in those parts had been greatly improved by Brasidas. The Illyrians also, who are only mentioned by way of comparison, (v. 1321) had abandoned Perdikkas, king of Macedon, the friend of the Athenians, and had gone over to the army of Brasidas.²²¹ The circumstances in which these nations were placed, partly as friends of the Lacedæmonians, and, partly at least, as enemies of the Athenians, had now existed for some time; and there was thus a good ground for reckoning them also amongst the besieged gods, and for making them join in the demand of the *ἐμπόρια ἀνεωγμένα*, for they were equally with the others cut off from the high seas, and straitened in their supply of provisions

²¹⁷ Schol. to l. 1562. Ἀνωτέρω δὲ φησὶν αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνωτέρω οἰκοῦσι καὶ πορρωτέρω οἱ βάρβαροι.

²¹⁸ Thucyd. II. 96. Compare Popp. Proleg. in Thucyd. I. 2, p. 406 sq.

²¹⁹ Thucyd. IV. 101.

²²⁰ Ib. II. 29, 95 sq. Aristoph. Achar. 141 sq.; and Elmsley on v. 145.

²²¹ Thucyd. IV. 124, 125.

by the blockade; and they might thus be reduced to have recourse to a *στάσις*, i. e. to renounce their Peloponnesian friends. The god who personates them is however with propriety represented as the most insignificant of the three, and is associated with his colleagues rather as a ludicrous character: perhaps too, called by the name of Triballos, because a laughable spectacle bearing that name, and which turned more upon the rude, uncivilized state of the people,²²² than on a play of words, had already been represented in Athens.²²³ By these three ambassadors then are represented the people of the continent of Greece and the adjacent territories, who were connected with the Lacedæmonians in hostility to Athens. There is thus a definite purpose in the choice of them, in connection with the special object of the play, apart from which such choice would seem accidental and arbitrary. Hercules indeed makes his appearance as the hero of the Dorian race; but the conception and treatment of the character are evidently more in keeping with his Bœotian, and particularly his Theban connections, than with the Spartans. This appears in his Bœotian appetite, and equally so in his alledged illegitimacy, (*νοθεία*) which Peisthetairos adduces in refutation of the arguments, by which Neptune had attempted to make him his dupe, and which *νοθεία* directly applies to his Theban descent. This had already been hinted at in v. 558, and thus are the several parts of the poem rendered consistent with one another. The same may be said of the mention of Neptune and Hercules in the lines immediately following, v. 566 sq. and which certainly is not without a purpose, as both are afterwards brought

²²² Isocr. Panath. p. 380; also de Pac. p. 227, Bekker.

²²³ See App. H.

forward under similar circumstances. With respect to Aphrodite, it is of little consequence whether this goddess be there introduced for any one state in particular, perhaps Cyprus, though this was at that time of too little importance, or merely to increase the number of examples. But Jupiter is always kept in the background, as chief of the gods, from whom the sceptre and Basileia are demanded: (551, 1535 sq. 1600, 1634 sq.) this is in reference to Sparta herself; whether the poet had only in his eye the position of the Lacedæmonians, as the leading state in the Peloponnesian alliance, or whether he looked to the peculiar relation, in which Jupiter, as the father of Hercules, stood to the two kings of Sparta; on which account they administered the office of priests of Jupiter, the one that of Ζεὺς Λακεδαιμόνων, the other that of Ζεὺς οὐράνιος.²²⁴

But to come to the particular conduct and language of the personages engaged in the scene before us, the assertion made by Peisthetairos (v. 1596) to the ambassadors of the gods, that the birds had not begun the war with them, is a direct imitation or repetition of the frequent expostulations, which took place during the Peloponnesian war, as to which party had been the aggressor, the Athenians or the Lacedæmonians.²²⁵ And his representations of the advantage which a *συνμαχία* or offensive and defensive alliance (v. 1610) with the birds, ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄρνις ἔχητε συνμάχους, would ensure to the gods, (v. 1616, "Ἐτερον νῦν ἔτι Ἀκούσαθ' ὅσον ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιήσομεν) bear in the main a strong resemblance to the political views brought forward by the Spartan ambassadors in Athens;²²⁶ the leading

²²⁴ Herodot. VI. 56.

²²⁵ Thucyd. IV. 20. Πολεμοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων.

²²⁶ Ib. Καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις τὰ ἔνοντα ἀγαθὰ σκοπεῖτε ὅσα εἰκὸς εἶναι

idea in their harangue having been to state the many advantages which would accrue, if the Athenians and Lacedæmonians could understand each other; as then the rest of the Greeks being inferior to them in power, would hold them in the greatest respect. On that occasion, however, the two parties are supposed to be on an equal footing; but in the propositions of Peisthetairos, the sovereignty of the Athenians alone is in question, and the advantages to the Lacedæmonians are thus humorously introduced under the cloak of dramatic allegory: as if he had said, “ You “ Lacedæmonians sit there shut up in the Pelopon- “ nesos, and being a continental power you cannot “ reach your distant allies; but if you will contract “ such an alliance with us Athenians, that whoever “ is bound by oaths to you, shall be also bound to “ us Athenians, as possessors of the Hegemonia, we “ shall be able to punish all who violate the com- “ pact, (v. 1613) we will collect for you the arrears “ of tribute, (v. 1621) and we will exact for you from “ those who are slow in paying, the penalty of a “ double contribution, by falling upon them when we “ are least expected.” (v. 1625) The observation too of Hercules, (v. 1591) on the advantages to both parties from a cessation of hostilities, calls to mind the identical declaration to that effect made by the Spartan ambassadors above mentioned.²²⁷ This coincidence, which is in unison with all other testimonies indicating that the relations between Athens and Sparta are mainly alluded to in the play, cannot be accidental. But the principal condition of Peisthe-

ἡμῶν γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ταῦτά λεγόντων τό γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἵστε ὅτι ὑποδέεστερον ὄν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει.

²²⁷ Thucyd. IV. 20. Ἡμῖν δὲ καλῶς, εἴπερ ποτέ, ἔχει ἀμφοτέροις ἡ συναναλαγή.

tairos is after all, personal to himself; unless this be granted, the war of extermination (ἱερὸς πόλεμος, v. 556) begins, and the threat, which had been before held out to Iris, (v. 1246) is put in execution. What is to be expected from him when he shall have gained the sovereignty, we learn from the promise, by which (v. 1672) he gains over the good will of Hercules, namely, that he would set him up as a tyrant, and feed him with bird's-milk, of which Aristophanes frequently makes mention, as of the greatest of dainties. As under the great king many individuals were established as tyrants in the Persian empire, so the great potentate in Greece might raise his allies to that dignity; and, in case of need, Athenian money and lands might be given to them in the shape of pay, a most inviting prospect to a Theban aristocrat. That Peisthetairos (v. 1584 sq.) should describe the birds, which he has dressed for dinner, as having been condemned to death *for having revolted against the democratical birds*, must not be considered as any contradiction of the antidemocratical spirit, which he has displayed. This feeling is much too strong and too generally evident, to be dissipated by a solitary expression of this kind. We should rather view it as an allusion of Aristophanes himself to the execution of several individuals, accused of being accomplices of Alcibiades in the other crimes, and in the conspiracy against the democracy,²²³ shortly before the exhibition of "the Birds;" just as the declaration of Euelpides, in an earlier part of the play, (v. 125) against the aristocracy, is to be understood in the light of a denial, on the part of the poet in his private character, of the imputation of Aristokratismos which was cast upon him. But in the mouths of

²²³ Thucyd. VI. 60.

Peisthetairos and of Euelpides both these expressions must be taken not as true and sincere, but as purely ironical. The cutting up of the antidemocratical birds is truly dramatic, and as Peisthetairos himself observes, (v. 1688) it is a very appropriate preliminary to his marriage feast.

Nothing now is wanting for completing the story, but that Peisthetairos, who had gone to Olympos to receive from Jupiter the attributes of sovereignty, should actually descend with them from thence, and be represented surrounded by them, as the sole sovereign in the new empire of the birds. After a short delay this takes place in the concluding scene. Here Peisthetairos makes his appearance on his return from Olympos, announced by a messenger sent in haste before him; we must now fancy him as a bridegroom on a car, like Jupiter, with whose marriage ceremonies his own are compared,²²⁹ (v. 1733) proceeding to his home dressed in his bridal robes, (v. 1694) radiating in solar brilliancy, (v. 1709) surrounded with the vapours of incense, and the smoke of sacrifices, (v. 1715) with his young and beautiful bride, Basileia, at his side, (v. 1537, 1634, 1675, 1713, 1724, 1713, 1753) brandishing in his right hand the thunderbolt of Jupiter, (v. 1714) by which he has acquired dominion over all things; (v. 1752) in short, as the tyrant from henceforth (v. 1708) of the race of birds, whose happiness he had secured for ever. (v. 1707, 1725) The chorus receive him (as the fates sang of old, at the marriage of Jupiter and Hera, v. 1731) with a bridal hymn, which he graciously accepts: (v. 1743 sq.) they then celebrate at his command the fiery bolt, (v. 1749) the winged spear, (v. 1714) with which Peisthetairos, in thunder

²²⁹ Schol. *Ἐπ' ὀχήματος γὰρ τὰς νύμφας ἄγουσιν.*

and in lightning, is to shake the earth to its foundations. He now invites the whole of the feathered race to his marriage feast, (v. 1755) and assisting his bride to alight from the car, he conducts her with them to the banquet. (v. 1759) He has not indeed discovered, but he has himself founded such a city, as that which he went out to seek, and he is moreover its sovereign; and a marriage feast, such as Euepides wished to be invited to every day, in the ideal city they were in search of, (v. 129) is actually celebrated with greater display and magnificence than was to be expected.

Whilst this scene, which is so well calculated for the effect upon the eye, closes the action in a manner most appropriate to the allegorical story, it is not less effective in completing it, and stamping the seal upon its import, whilst it throws back additional light upon the whole piece. For this purpose, not only the marriage of Basileia is of importance, but the thunderbolt of Jupiter also, which he brandishes, which he has received together with Basileia, the administratress of this jewel, (v. 1538) and which he bears in place of the sceptre he had claimed for the birds, of which sceptre nothing more is said, is of equal moment; nay, the meaning of this symbol is still more essentially connected with the whole story: but to understand it, we must call to mind that Perikles, according to some, in consequence of his great and powerful intellect, according to others, for the magnificence with which he had embellished the city of Athens, or for his despotic power in civil and military affairs, but by the comic poets, especially for the power of his eloquence,²³⁰ was called "The Olympian;" and his tongue was compared to a

²³⁰ Διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ λόγου. Diodor. XII. 40.

thunderbolt, with which in thunder and in lightning he ruled over Greece.²³¹ This is confirmed by Aristophanes himself, who makes Dikaiopolis say in the *Acharnians*, (v. 530)

Ἐντεῦθεν ὀργῇ Περικλεῆς οὐλύμπιος

Ἥστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

It may not, therefore, be considered too bold, in a play of the same poet, in the conduct of which eloquence and its consequences act so essential a part, if we view this golden thunderbolt, so remarkably celebrated by the chorus, which Peisthetairos wields in his hand, and by which he henceforth makes the earth to tremble, as the metaphor of the old comic poets transformed into an allegorical emblem, and if we explain it to be the symbolical expression of the power of eloquence, by which Perikles had already ruled over Athens and Hellas, and by which Peisthetairos is henceforth to rule over the Athenian world of birds. The epode of the chorus, which immediately precedes this scene, signally justifies such explanation. (v. 1694 sq. 1705) Just at the critical moment when the comic art, which has hitherto been indulging in a sportive vein, has produced the most brilliant result, and is preparing to celebrate her triumphs, the chorus vehemently assail a tribe of people, that tucks every thing into its belly with its tongue, that sows and

²³¹ The principal passage is in Plut. Pericl. 8. Καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὀλύμπιον αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι (λέγουσι) ——— αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδαὶ τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνομίαν γενέσθαι ἐηλοῦσι, βουντᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀστράπτειν ὅτε δημηγοροίῃ, δεινὸν δὲ κεραυτὸν ἐν τῇ γλώσσῃ φέρειν λεγόντων. See also Aristeid. pro Quatuorv. T. II. p. 151. Compare the passages in Bergler and Elmsley on the *Acharn.* 530; and Spalding on Quintilian, II. 16, 19.

reaps with its tongue, that plucks figs and gathers grapes with its tongue, exposing by name Gorgias and Philippos, whose designation as barbarians by descent, coupled with the eager and favourable reception which Gorgias of Leontini had found at Athens, presents at once the master-key to the repeated allusions in the play to the crowd of strangers pressing to become citizens, and by whom the foundations of the state were undermined.²³² The chorus express bitter displeasure at the great credit which that art had obtained, and the honour paid to it in Athens, through the influence of such men, by the observation that to them it was owing that throughout Attica, according to a custom, (by the by universal) the tongue of victims was especially offered in sacrifice. It is as if Aristophanes, in making the chorus thus put forward the principle, which had hitherto been working throughout the play, i. e. eloquence and its organ, the tongue, immediately before its conclusion, had chosen to mark it as one of the main objects of his satire, and at the same time to throw a preparatory light upon the concluding scene which was to crown the whole. For as the thunderbolt (*κεραυνός*) is the first named in the enumeration (v. 1537) of the apparatus of a political life in Athens, as it afterwards really appears in the hands of Peis-thetairos, and as every one knew what the comic writers, and especially Aristophanes, understood by that word, when they attributed a *κεραυνός* to Perikles, and represented him as dealing around his thunder-

²³² V. 10, 32 sq. with the Scholia. v. 762 sq. 1526 sq. To this also are to be referred v. 1013, 1016, by which Aristophanes implies that all these adventurers should be expelled. It is evident from the Scholia to v. 718 of "the Wasps" that *ξενηλασίαι* were at times in vogue at Athens.

bolts and his lightning,—and as the choral song aptly designates this art and power of the tongue, as the main spring of Athenian existence, it contains a positive and direct explanation of the symbolical meaning of that *κεραυνός*, which was forthwith to be exhibited to the people, and to be appreciated as the instrument of dominion. We are, therefore, not to consider the concluding scene merely as the triumph of the ambitious demagogue, but must understand it equally to refer to the sophistical and rhetorical element in the character of Peisthetairos, conformably to the whole course of the preceding story. Other traits also point to what may be called his glorification. Peisthetairos shines with a splendour surpassing the rays of the sun, he is compared to a bright glittering star, (v. 1709 sq.) and he is clothed in his wedding garment. (v. 1693) It seems that he is exhibited to the public, his head adorned with the golden crown of honour, which all nations had acknowledged to be due to his talents, (v. 1274) and invested with a purple robe, with which not only Alcibiades, but Gorgias²³³ also, used to appear in public. In this splendour we see again the full meaning of the word Stilbonides, which Peisthetairos had assumed very early in the play. (v. 139) What then is thus represented, is the triumph of sophistical, no less than of political egotism; and in the nuptials which are about to be celebrated, (as is borne out also by the meaning of the names) we witness the union of that persuasive and sophistical eloquence, which had been so efficient and so active from the beginning to the end of the great enterprize, with sovereign rule. The eastern splendour of the scene, to which also contribute the indescribably delightful fumes of incense, which rise

²³³ Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. 32.

from the sacrifices offered by the men, at once holds up to ridicule the vanity of the sophist, concealed under the mask of Peisthetairos, and suits the leaning of Alcibiades to these oriental habits. But the vain sophist is still subordinate to the equally, though differently, vain politician; and the former is absorbed in the latter, when the political demagogue has attained the tyranny he aimed at; and the Peisthetairos who conducts Basileia home as his wife, and who wields the thunderbolt of Perikles,²³⁴ with which he is to make the earth to tremble, and to deluge it with torrents, (ὄμβροφόροι θ' ἄμα βρονταὶ, κ. τ. λ. v. 1750) can only find his final and pre-eminent antitype in the pupil of Perikles, and of sophistry, i. e. of Gorgias, its arch-professor; and this was Alcibiades, whom

²³⁴ Besides this we may find another reference to Perikles in this scene; which is in the comparison of the nuptial song, where the chorus greet Peisthetairos and Basileia, with that which was sung by the fates to "Ἡρα Ὀλύμπια at her marriage with Jupiter. (v. 1731) For as Perikles was called the Olympian by the comic poets, Aspasia was denominated by them his *Hera* (Juno) in consequence of the great influence which she had over him. When Plutarch (Pericl. 24. Compare Schol. on Plato. p. 391, Bekker) writes: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς κομφῳδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νῦν καὶ Διϊάνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ἡρα προσγορεῖται. Κρατῖνος δ' ἀντικρὺς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἰρηκεν ἐν τούτοις'.

"Ἡραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει,

Καὶ καταπυγούνην παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα,

he is only mistaken in saying that Kratinos had called her the concubine of Perikles; whereas in the passage quoted, whilst his *καταπυγούνη*, for which he is so bitterly arraigned, is called by that name, Aspasia is on the contrary represented under the title of Juno, as his wife, which she in truth was. But in the passage of "the Birds" we are now adverting to, this reference is not expressed with sufficient clearness to be at once admitted. In the mention of the Thunderbolt, especially after what we have just said, we may easily call to mind the *εραυνὸς* of Perikles, even though he be not expressly mentioned. But the reference to Aspasia in the Olympian Juno can only be understood, if her Olympian consort is already previously designated.

doubtless the comic poets had long before ranked amongst the Peisistratidai, as they called the young followers of Perikles,²³⁵ and who, as Perikles had done before him, in stirring up the Peloponnesian war, was now making the earth to tremble, and raising up new storms by urging on the Sicilian expedition. This personage now appears as the heir of his master's thunderbolt, that is of his eloquence and of his authority; and having derived from his undertaking the greatest personal advantages to himself, in the consciousness of his power, and with self-sufficient complacency, he receives, and claims the homage of the world. He returns home as sole ruler to Athens, which he has metamorphosed into Nephelokokkygia, wherein sophistry bears the sway, and whose inhabitants, like the light-hearted birds, acknowledging no longer the supremacy of the gods, and fancying themselves the gods of the earth, become the victims of a crafty, inordinate, and triumphant egotism. This closing scene, eminently calculated as it is to display the true import of the story, thus completes a drama, all whose parts are so perfectly connected and rounded off, that perhaps in point of artificial construction, no other piece of a similar description could be adduced as its parallel. This judgment can only be justified in the point of view, in which our explanation has been conducted. Under every other aspect, however we may perceive in the work profound sense, fancy, wit

²³⁵ Plut. Pericl. 16. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης διηγῆται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνουσιν οἱ κωμικοὶ, Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταίρους καλοῦντες, κ. τ. λ. That Alcibiades would have gained his object, if the Sicilian expedition had succeeded, is rendered highly probable by the conduct of the lower classes towards him after his return to Athens, when some of them urged him to seize on the tyranny. Plutarch. Alc. 34.

and humour, we are unable to give an equally satisfactory account of the meaning, the necessity and the logical succession of the several incidents employed in its developement.

Something still remains to be said on the chorus, and on their connection with the story of the piece. They first appear on the stage in v. 294, 295, and not *σποράδην*, as one might suppose from their coming on fluttering about with their wings (v. 296) like the chorus in the *Eumenides* of Æschylos,²³⁶ but in close order. For the four single birds which make their appearance from v. 267 to v. 293, as has already been noticed in the Scholia,²³⁷ do not belong to the chorus, but are merely introduced as mutes, to give occasion to the satirical remarks made upon them by the three actors; whereas it is clear from the exclamation of Peisthetairos, (v. 294) ὦ Πόσειδον οὐχ' ὁρᾷς ὅσον συνείλεται κακὸν Ὀρνέων; and by that of Euelpides, ὦναξ Ἀπολλων, τοῦ νέφους, that those who compose the chorus come on together. We may observe also with the Scholiasts,²³⁸ that the number of masks or individuals in the comic chorus is as clearly defined as their arrangement. From v. 297 to v. 304, the four-and-twenty birds composing the chorus are all separately named. This Peisthe-

²³⁶ Vita Æschyli. p. 454, Schütz. On the meaning of *σποράδην* compare Hermann de choro Eumen. diss. I. in Opusc. II. p. 132.

²³⁷ On v. 297. Ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ καταρίθμισις τῶν εἰς τὸν χορὸν συντετινόντων προσώπων κ', ἐν περιττῇ ληφθέντων τῶν προκατειλεγμένων.

²³⁸ On v. 297. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰρήσεις ἀριθμήσας τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα πρόσωπα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κωμικὸς χορὸς ἀνίσταται. On Equitt. 589. Συνειστήκει δὲ ὁ χορὸς ὁ μὲν κωμικὸς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἤδη καὶ γυναικῶν, ἄρσεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ παιδῶν, κ', ὥς καὶ οὕτως ἀπηριθμήσεν ἐν Ὀρνισιν, ἀφ' ὧν μὲν ὅρις εἶβ', θηλείας δὲ τσσαύτας.

tairos, who is as yet unacquainted with them, is incompetent to do, and it is therefore done by the Epops, who in v. 271, 273, 277, 281, 288, 292, had previously presented to the stranger those birds that had come on singly, and as they passed in review, with the requisite explanations; to him, therefore, we must also attribute the naming of those, which form the chorus in v. 297, 299, 300, and 301, as also in v. 302, 303, 304. The birds are subsequently divided into four troops, in each of which six are named; and from the question in v. 299, *τις γὰρ ἐστ' ὁ ὑπισθεν αὐτῆς*; as well as from the successive naming of each of the first six, we are led to conclude that they followed each other one by one. Thus the first troop enter *κατὰ στοίχους*.²³⁹ The *στοῖχοι*, as soon as they have entered, range close to each other, and thus are formed the depth and breadth, or the four *στοῖχοι* and six *ζυγά* of the comic chorus. According to the scholia above quoted in v. 589 of "the Knights," the chorus was composed of male and female birds.²⁴⁰ I confess I do not see

²³⁹ Julius Pollux, IV. 109, says of the tragic chorus only, that they came on, either *κατὰ ζυγά*, or *κατὰ στοίχους*. In the first case three of the chorus always came on abreast, in the last, five, one after the other. It follows of course that, in order to form the whole chorus, in the former case the five *ζυγά* always ranged one behind the other, and in the latter case the three *στοῖχοι* ranged alongside of each other. The same thing would take place in the comic chorus, only changing the relative numbers, as we may conclude from the connection with the tragical chorus in which Pollux mentions them.

²⁴⁰ I use this expression not unintentionally, although the Scholiast quoted describes twelve male and as many female birds, because the same Scholia soon after contain the observation, that when the comic choruses consisted of men and women, the men were always thirteen in number; and thus is there a contradiction, which must be explained by comparing together the Scholia of different commentators. But I do not think with Böckh (*Græc. trag. princip.* p. 70) that the first interpretation is incorrect: for the female semi-chorus, in the hyme-

precisely the object of this arrangement, in reference to the songs of the chorus, and that although some melodies are capable of being divided into semi-choruses,²⁴¹ I can discover no trace of an appropriation of them to different sexes, except in the hymnæal song at the conclusion; the strophe of which (v. 1731, 1736) might be sung by the male, and the antistrophe by the female semi-chorus.

But perhaps this composition of the chorus referred to the arrangement of the individuals, (so that a *στοῖχος* of male birds, alternated with a *στοῖχος* of female birds) and consequently to the dance, that is to the *ἀντιστοιχείν*, or to the orchestric movement of the ranks in opposite directions, something like our minuet; as in Xenophon,²⁴² Kallias begs Socrates to send for him, whenever he practised dancing, in order that he might be his vis-a-vis, (*ἵνα σοὶ ἀντιστοιχῶ*) and practise with him. This must also have taken place with the choruses, as the same author²⁴³

næal song towards the end of the play, had probably their own Koryphæos with a female mask, as well as those choruses, composed wholly of females, in plays of that description, and the *Ἀλκυόν*, associated by Böckh with the male birds, completes the number of twelve female birds: for although Aristophanes says of this bird, *ἐκείνοισι ὅτι γ' ἄλκυών*, yet the question which immediately follows, *τίς γὰρ ἐστ' οὐπίσθεν αὐτῆς*; shows that he meant by it the female Halkyon: and that *ἐκείνοισι* only refers to *δρυς*. The Scholiast is therefore right in explaining *Κηρύλος* by the male Halkyon.

²⁴¹ Thus I should conceive that as in the strophe 1470, 1472, and in the antistrophe 1482, 1484, the thema was sung by the whole chorus; and then 1473, 1477, and 1485, 1489, by the first semi-chorus; and 1490, 1493, by the second semi-chorus; so in the single strophe 1553, 1555, it was sung by the whole chorus; 1556, 1558, by the first semi-chorus; and 1559, 1561, by the second semi-chorus; and 1562, 1564, was sung by the whole chorus; finally, in the epodos, 1694, 1696, were sung by the whole chorus; 1697, 1700, by the first semi-chorus; and 1701, 1705, by the second semi-chorus.

²⁴² Conv. II. 20.

²⁴³ Anab. V. 4, 12.

compares the drawing up of a body of troops to the ἀντιστοιχεῖν of the chorus; ἔστησαν ὥσπερ—οἱ χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις. Hence it appears that the στοῖχοι of the choruses were formed also in columns, in which two always danced opposite each other; and we may thus imagine the ordonnance of our chorus so arranged, that the male and female birds danced opposite each other.²⁴⁴ This may especially have been the case during the hymenæal song, in which the chorus, after falling back some paces, (ἀναγε, 1720) and increasing their distances, (δίεχε) —whilst at the same time the rear ζυγά advanced from behind through the intervals, to the front, (πάραγε)²⁴⁵ and then closed in to each other—formed a wide space (πάρεχε sc. χῶρον)²⁴⁶ for Peisthetairos advancing with his bride: they then danced round him in a circle (περιπέτεσθε, 1721) and sang the hymenæal in semi-choruses moving in opposite directions to each other.

²⁴⁴ This takes for granted that each of the four στοῖχοι consisted of birds of the same sex, which is most probable. In this respect it is remarkable that the birds of the fourth στοῖχος, as named by Aristophanes, (γ. 304) are all females. That he has not also separated the sexes of those in the three first, is no objection. In the first and third at least, the majority is male, and the contrary in the second. The rule then seems to be observed, and the exceptions may be attributed to the necessity of consulting the metre. In the rapidity with which they come on the stage this deviation from the reality would be unobserved.

²⁴⁵ Παράγειν expresses an oblique march from rear to front. Hutchinson on Xen. Cyrop. II. 3, 9. The choruses use also some strategetical expressions. See 344 sq. 353. Compare Jungermann on Jul. Pollux. IV. 106. Ζυγά and στοῖχοι are military terms. Pol. I. 126. Διέχειν is also a military expression. Plut. Agesil. 18. Διέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ δίσχον.

²⁴⁶ Athen. XIV. p. 622, c. 'Ἀνάγειτ', εὐρυχωρίαν Ποιεῖτε τῷ θεῷ. See also πάρεχε in the same sense, Vesp. 949, and the Scholia and Reiske. In Vesp. 1326 and 1330, we have a different sense; after ἀναγε (raise up!) and πάρεχε (give!) we must understand τὴν ἐγίδα

With respect now to the destination or real purpose of the chorus, they perform their part (as far as they represent the frivolous and volatile people of Athens) with unprejudiced natural common sense, and a just feeling of distrust for the stranger, who is stealing in amongst them, and whose admission into the community they prepare to repel with great vehemence; and with equal readiness their anger is appeased and cooled by two or three crafty and ably applied sentences. Then led away by the charms which every novelty and subtlety have for them, and captivated by sophistical flattery, with the splendour of their former greatness, and sensibly alive to any thing which promises to extend their power and exalt their glory, they are completely gained over for an adventurous project, which, through their instrumentality, Ambition and Thirst for command are carrying on for their own selfish purposes. Thus the chorus become the sport of those motives, and are the real and main object of the satire and irony of the piece; and to such a degree do they continue so, till the very conclusion of the drama, that in the honest extacy of their joy for their imagined happiness, they receive with hymns of praise the new tyrant, who is to gain all the advantage from the undertaking, glorify the instrument whose dupe they have hitherto been and will continue to be, and follow with shouts of jubilee, to assist at a marriage, at which the dowry is their own freedom.

But from this their general point of view, the chorus rise at times, in the course of the play, to their proper choral character, especially in the parabasis, (v. 676, 800, and in v. 1058, 1117) where, with the materials which the action of the story provides, and from their own views, as speaking under the mask of birds, they again act their own part, and treat the public assem-

bled before them, namely, the people of Athens and mankind in general, entirely in the poet's own sense, and with the most incomparable irony; at the same time in the beautiful song, parts of which are intermingled here and there with the parabasis, the characteristic superiority and free spirit of the chorus are manfully maintained. Nor can we fail to recognize this real office of the comic chorus, never sinking below, but on the contrary soaring with joyous humour above the action, in the truly satirical songs with which the intervals of the last scenes (v. 1470, 1483, v. 1553, 1564, and v. 1694 and 1705) are filled up. These songs all grow out of the sentiments and incidents of the story. Each is, as it were, called forth at its proper place by some special occasion; they are all likewise intimately connected with one another, and may therefore be here considered together. The leading idea brought out in v. 1470, on which they all depend, is implied also in v. 118 and 1058, and the amplification of it on this occasion only furnishes specimens of the curiosities and remarkable objects, which have been observed, on their excursions over land and sea, by the all-seeing and far-flying birds; but which in fact are all found together in Athens. The curiosity alluded to in the strophe, (v. 1470, 1481) namely, the cowardly and sycophantic Kleonymos, is introduced, with reference to the earlier satire upon the same v. (289 sq.) as a debauchée, by the sycophant who has just been dismissed, and who prefers his own infamous trade to honest labour (v. 1432, 1450) or to military service. (v. 1421) The antistrophe (v. 1482, 1493) evidently refers back to the mishap, which Euelpides tells us in v. 493, he met with in the evening, when on his

way to Halimous²⁴⁷ he had been attacked and beat and robbed of his cloak, which is again alluded to in v. 712. These three passages were very probably grounded on some anecdote, which had occurred during the winter preceding the exhibition of "the Birds."²⁴⁸ The strophe (v. 1553, 1550) is ostensibly occasioned by the σκιᾶδειον (umbrella, v. 1508, 1550) of Prometheus, who has just quitted the stage, and the fabulous Σκιάποδες with which it begins, allude to the spindle-shanks of the philosophers, who were more like ghosts than bodies, (and whose master, Socrates, is consequently here represented as a Psychagogue)²⁴⁹ and particularly those of Chairephon, who is quoted by name, and who was of a pale and haggard form.²⁵⁰ But the whole of this strophe is connected with the general satire of the play. For the mention in it of Socrates has certainly nothing in common with the ἰσωκράτοον (v. 1282) in which passage Aristophanes meant to imply that the philosopher was adverse to the Sicilian expedition; whereas

²⁴⁷ Euclpides, or whoever under his name may have met with this accident, was not, as Kruse (Hellas. T. 2, p. 214) seems to imply, taking an evening walk to Halimous; but we must suppose that he lived there, and went to sup in the city, but having drunk too much before the meal, he had fallen asleep, and being awoke by the crowing of the cock, thinking it was morning, while it was still evening, he wished to go home. As this was before supper-time, the accident must have occurred in that season of the year when the days are short; with this allusion we can also explain the passage (1481 sq.) χώρα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ σκότῳ ἐν τῇ λύχνων ἰρημίᾳ, as meaning close to the city wall, on the road to Halimous, which was not lighted in the evening. Κάρτι προκύπτω ἔξω τείχους.

²⁴⁸ [Perhaps some act of violence and outrage committed by Alcibiades and his young companions. Tr.]

²⁴⁹ Compare Essay on "the Clouds." p. 69.

²⁵⁰ Schol. Platon. p. 331, Bekker. Χαιρεφῶν οὗτος ὁ Σωκρατικός ἰσχνὸς ἦν καὶ ὠχρὸς, τὸ δὲ ἦθος συκοφάντης καὶ κύλαξ.

in this strophe, (v. 1553, 1564) viewing him as one entangled in the principles of sophistical rhetoric, he confronts him with Gorgias, the subject of the last strophe; and he produces as one of his followers his famulus Chairephon, whom, in v. 1564, 1296, he twice calls *νυκτερὶς*, (vampire) and had described in the "*Ωραι* as *νυκτὸς παῖς*.²⁵¹ Chairephon is here, i. e. in the "*Ωραι*, really the famulus of Socrates, for he comes forth at the summons of Peisandros, as in v. 20 of "the Birds." Trochilos comes out when Euelpides knocks at the abode of Epops. Chairephon was, besides, a friend of Gorgias,²⁵² and he had the reputation of being a cunning parasite and *κόλαξ*, of which we have proofs in many fragments of the old comic poets.²⁵³ In this view he is appropriately coupled with Peisandros, who evokes him, and whom those comic poets brought upon the stage, as they did also Kleonymos, on account of his gluttony.²⁵⁴ That Chairephon should fall upon the throat (*τὸ λαῖμα*) of the slaughtered camel, to drink the blood from it, serves to show his voraciousness, and in connection with that, his unblushing and obtrusive effrontery; and at the same time to characterize him as a *λαίμῳς*.²⁵⁵ The connection is thus discovered between this strophe and the following scene, in which the gormandizing of Hercules is exhibited. The satirical character of the chorus still continues

²⁵¹ Scholiasta Platonis Clarkianus, p. 331.

²⁵² Platon. Gorg. 1. *Φίλος γὰρ μοι Γοργίας*.

²⁵³ See particularly Athen. VI. p. 243 to 244, a. in which two whole chapters are dedicated to Chairephon, and p. 245, a. Also IV. p. 164, f. Compare IV. p. 135, e. and p. 136, e.; also XIII. p. 585, e. and Schol. Platon. l. c.

²⁵⁴ Athen. X. p. 416, d. Compare Meineke Quæst. Scen. II. p. 21.

²⁵⁵ Meineke on Menander, p. 41.

to rise in severity, and reaches its acme in the epode. (v. 1694, 1705) We have already shown, how intimately this passage is connected with the preceding and concluding scenes.

Such then is the management of the chorus, by which, as the people of the birds, they have become a main object of the satire; whilst in their especial choral designation, they have assumed an existence, which hovering over the action of the story, not only looks down upon it with satire and irony, but also pervades it with cheerful songs. They are still at all times closely connected with it; and by the disguise they throughout maintain, and never for a moment forget, they are perpetually interwoven with it: and this management mainly contributes, to support throughout the poem, the appearance of a playful effusion, which, without any direct aim, scatters at random its light and easy satire, and thus to conceal its historical application. From all the foregoing observations we may now easily see, what has induced the poet, by this management of the chorus, by the whole allegorical disguise, by the management of his principal character, representing no one definite individual, but evidently engrafted upon more than one, and by other means of comic ridicule in single instances, which, without betraying him, spoke a language not to be misunderstood, to conceal the purpose he had in view. This was done in reference to the people, whose enthusiasm for the enterprize which he laughs at, was as yet any thing but cooled, and who required that it should be treated, not in an irritating, but in a very vague and bantering tone. All then that bears upon this point has an enigmatical character. Less delicacy was necessary in unmasking, by means of the

allegorical undertaking, the sophistical and ambitious main-springs of the real one; nay, this in truth was the special object of the poet. But he was prevented from making his allusions to Alcibiades more open and more direct, in deference to this highly irritable and dangerous character. When "the Birds" came out, it was not known, what had been the result of dispatching the *Salaminia* for Alcibiades, how he had himself received the summons, or how it had been taken by the crew of the fleet devoted to a commander, who was the soul of the expedition; of a fleet too, which had only been sent away, in order that the prosecution against him might be set on foot. If the suspicion of an understanding with the Lacedæmonians had been previously excited against him, it might well be apprehended that when he saw that he was personally threatened with imminent danger, he would really have set those springs to work. That such apprehensions existed, is evident from the very cautious instructions which were given to the *Salaminia*. Nor, indeed, could it be foreseen, what turn Alcibiades might give to affairs by his eloquence, and by his still formidable party in Athens, if he should surrender himself and come home to plead his own justification. An open attack against him must then in either case have been hazardous. If these political considerations did in fact restrain the poet from speaking more undisguisedly, we cannot but feel how essentially his comic humour and finesse have contributed to the concealment of his object; just as a wild girl, by running away and hiding herself, tempts the youth to pursue and catch her, and is then the most artful, when her behaviour appears to be the most unstudied.

I flatter myself however, that from the point of view thus established, I have now shown by this, I think, unforced explanation of the drama, in its whole course and in all its parts, that the disguise is not impenetrable. The unity which, according to such explanation, the entire poem exhibits, shows the intellectual vigour and the art of the poet, which, amidst the play of fancy, ever hold fast to the principal idea, and give to it a perfect form, under the appearance of the most arbitrary fictions. It links together so intimately, general views of the Athenian republic with the more immediate objects of the play, that though the former are not its especial drift, they are brought into broad day-light by the able treatment of the latter; and whilst the understanding is no less charmed and satisfied than the imagination, the judgement is confirmed, which I expressed at the commencement of the essay, that this drama is the most artificially constructed of all the works, which have been preserved to us, of our inimitable comic poet. It is therefore entitled to take a place, the tendency and importance of which can no longer be a matter of indifference to the historian or to the philologist, in that exoteric and esoteric history of the portraiture of his time, which is to be found in the works of Aristophanes, particularly in that of his conception of Alcibiades; an individual of whom we may venture to affirm, that as he was the most prominent political character of his day, who kept all minds on the stretch, and in a state of anxious inquietude, who rose into notoriety with the first dawn of the Aristophanic comedy, and sunk with its gradual decline, so he must be considered as a principal and leading personage in its representa-

tions, in its allusions, and in all its bearings. This would no doubt appear more clearly if our poet's works had come down to us in a less mutilated state.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ In developing the relation in which Aristophanes stood towards the age in which he lived, the character of Alcibiades will demand a very different degree of attention from that which has been paid to it in the Essay entitled "Aristophanes and his times," p. 164; and it will deserve to be treated much more in detail, than that of Kleon, whose boisterous and coarse eloquence, as described by Aristophanes, was utterly incompatible with the refined doctrines then coming into vogue, and who is sufficiently well known by the principles he avows, in the remarkable speech reported by Thucydides, III. 37 sq., on the superiority of bad, but immutable, laws over better laws, which might be changed, on the advantages of a low state of civilization, combined with the love of order, over refined education with licentiousness, of simple straight-forward men over men of deep penetration and profound views in the administration of public affairs, and upon the power of oratory over the passions of the Athenians. Now Kleon, Eukrates, Hyperbolos and other demagogues of this description could only be brought forward and elevated above the multitude, in opposition to the accomplishments of Perikles, until the younger race of the *καλοὶ κ' ἀγαθοί*, that is of the highly educated class, (see Welcher's Prolegg. in Theogn. XXIV. sq. and my Essay on the *Γῆρας*, p. 47) was grown up, and could come into play. Their common, vulgar selfishness, a vice certainly not peculiar to the more recent times in Athens, was undoubtedly, through the political weakness of Nicias, the only one who stood up in opposition to them, productive of much mischief: but there was no cause for apprehension that the whole system of Athenian civilization should be merged in theirs, nor that the constitution should fall into the hands of demagogues like them; and we may collect from the speech of Diotimos in answer to Kleon, (Thucyd. III. 42 sq.) and from its effect, how little reason there was to apprehend, that they could maintain themselves against the more refined civilization which was daily gaining ground. Alcibiades on the other hand, the representative in this respect of the principle of that more refined egotism, which was supported by all the arts of sophistical cunning, gave, from his youth upwards, occasion for this alarm; and according to his own view, as well as the opinions of Thucydides and Aristophanes, (see Essay on "the Clouds," p. 55, and on the *Γῆρας*, p. 43) as the city had not been able earlier to check him and his party in their career, she would have been reduced to the necessity of giving herself into his hands,

as Rome did afterwards to the Cæsars, if she was desirous of maintaining herself as she was, or of extending her foreign dominion. Her inconsistent conduct towards Alcibiades, which was nothing less than vacillation and inconsistency of principle, was the sole cause of her destruction, as might easily be proved. We may therefore fairly consider Alcibiades as the principal object of the attention of Aristophanes; and in reference to his character, as formed on the principles in which he was educated, he should be compared with Euripides rather than with Kleon, who has no affinity to him whatever. (Aristophanes and his times, p. 235.) It is however no easy matter to trace Alcibiades in the works of the poet which we possess;* and it can only be done by searching into particular plays, and into the fragments of those which are lost. And if the philologist, whilst he endeavours to develope general views from particular expressions, and thus, as far as he is able, to obtain a more perfect and lively perception of the traits by which these general views are depicted, does not actually weep over the loss of these compositions, yet will he scarcely be satisfied with being able to sketch out a picture of the historical tendency of the poet in general from his remaining works, and from what is there laid open to his view; nor will he think himself absolved from the more laborious task of searching into them individually. (Aristophanes and his times, p. 48.) If we could still read his *Δαιταλείς*, his *Ταγενισταί*, his *Πελαργοί*, in a perfect state, no one, who possesses anything beyond a general acquaintance with Aristophanes, would doubt, that we should have a much clearer insight into the poet's conception of Socrates, of the sophists, of the education and formation of the youth of Athens; and that we should be able to form a more definite, and, in many respects, perhaps a very different judgement respecting them.

* That this was a very general impression among the learned, only a very few years ago, is evident from the concluding words of a note in Mr. Mitchell's translation of the *Acharnians*. "It is to be feared that Aristophanes himself shared in the general good-will towards the son of Cleinias; at least no comedy has come down to us, in which he is treated with that severity, which a character so pregnant with mischief so richly deserved." Tr.

APPENDIX.

IN the foregoing translation, the reader will have observed that an attempt has been made, in writing the proper names of Greek persons and places, to adopt an orthography more nearly approaching the Greek, than that which is generally in use, and which is in almost all cases derived or copied from the Latin writers. In this practice the German philologists have set the example, and if other nations would consent to do the same, and thus avoid the inconveniences and irregularities arising from our various modes of writing Greek proper names, many facilities would be given for the more ready perception of the niceties of Greek etymology. The exceptions to this practice, which have been made in the preceding pages, are chiefly in the cases of words with which the English eye or ear are so familiarized, that the change might have been considered as too obtrusive.

N. B. It may be proper to inform the reader that some of the articles contained in the following Appendix are introduced from the notes annexed to the original essay, and that the others are additional notices by the Author, occasioned by the observations of Herr H. E. Foss on the essay itself, in the interval between its being printed as a separate publication, and its appearing in the volume of Transactions of the Royal Academy of Berlin, printed in the year 1830.

APPENDIX A.—p. 35.

It was here my intention only to bring forward those features of the life of Gorgias, which were of importance to the explanation of “the Birds;” but not to give a critical history of it, as Geel, and more recently Herr Foss, in his learned *Commentatio de Gorgia Leontino*, (Hal. Sax. 1828) have attempted. In reference to the judgement passed on this part of my essay, in pages 23, 26 of that commentary, I have to observe:

1. That I give no credit to the futile observation of the Scholiast of Hermogenes, that the ἀρχιπρεσβευτής of an embassy, the virtual ambassador, might have taken upon himself, not to return to his fellow citizens to give them an account of his mission, but would have preferred to remain in Athens, where he was so well received, and was so well off. This must have appeared to the Scholiast himself to be a very improbable story, and particularly for the crafty Gorgias. It was on this account that I accused the Scholiast of coming to an inaccurate and hasty conclusion, by which the two residences of Gorgias in Athens were confounded together; and this supposition I still prefer to the explanation of Herr Foss, that he, the Scholiast, knew nothing of Gorgias’ return to his own country.

2. I willingly grant to Herr Foss that in pages 36 and 78, I have spoken too strongly of Gorgias being

domiciliated in Athens; I would merely imply that he preferred this residence; and this is quite consistent with the express testimony of Isokrates, (*περὶ ἀντιδ.* p. 458, Bekker) that he had no fixed abode, *πόλιν οὐδεμίαν καταπαγέως οἰκήσας*. I have nowhere asserted that Gorgias ever became an Athenian citizen. Herr Foss, p. 23 and 32, has here quite misunderstood me.

3. From the manner in which the brother of Gorgias, the physician Herodikos, is twice mentioned in the *Gorgias* of Plato, once by Chairephon, (not, as Herr Foss says, by Socrates) and again by Gorgias himself, it is much more probable that he was personally known to Plato, (as for Socrates or Chairephon, that is nothing to the purpose) and that consequently he had resided in Athens, than that he was only known to him by hearsay. Sicilian physicians were not such strangers in Athens. The comic writer Epikrates, (*Athenæus*, II. p. 59, f.) in the fragment of a play, in which he laughs at other philosophers as well as at Plato and his doctrine, ridicules a physician *Σικελᾶς ἀπὸ γᾶς*, and a troop of young speculating philosophers, like the *Phrontistai*, within the precincts of the academy.

4. Nothing positive can be said of the result of Gorgias' travels in Greece, or of the countries he successively visited. Herr Foss allows that he was not long absent from Athens, that he very soon returned thither, that his several journeys into the other parts of Greece were made from that city, and that he frequently returned to it. But when this writer makes Thessaly the central point of Gorgias' residence in Greece, he seems to me, although it cannot be denied that Gorgias did live there a considerable time, and at different periods, to have said

too much: the latter supposition certainly follows from the words of Isokrates, l. c. *διατρίψας μὲν περὶ Θετταλίαν*, but not the first. Athens, where he had already been received with such enthusiasm, had evidently many more attractions for him. No state in Greece, by the forms of its political and judicial constitution, by the character of the people, and the disposition which prevailed amongst the youth of the higher classes to study and admire the art of oratory, offered so splendid and favourable a theatre for the talents, the vanity and the avarice of Gorgias. That he remained in Athens till his death, is not more in my power to prove, than it is in that of Herr Foss, p. 37, to show that he died in Thessaly; but that he lived there at an advanced age is incontrovertible from what Athenæus says, XI. p. 505, that he was in Athens after Plato had written his “Gorgias.” A *short* residence there on the part of this individual is proved by neither of the passages quoted in p. 24 by Herr Foss. The first out of the “Gorgias” of Plato is only a proof that he travelled to other cities; and here, by the by, the words *οὐ μόνον ἐνθαδὲ* are of great weight in favour of Athens. In the second passage out of the “Menon” of Plato the declaration of Menon may be clearly explained from his peculiar character. And from the third passage, in Athenæus we only learn that Gorgias was a great traveller. The word *ἐπιδημεῖν* by no means involves the idea of a short residence, as it was used for any residence in a foreign country, and not merely for that of the sophists. On the other hand, from the influence which Gorgias had indisputably acquired over Attic oratory, both oral and written, and particularly on the rhetorical education of those distinguished persons, who are expressly named as his pupils, and who

certainly did not, like Isokrates, travel after him to Thessaly, we have every ground for concluding that he had become intimately acquainted with Athens from a repeated and long residence within its walls.

5. We have no positive proof that Isokrates travelled into Thessaly merely to hear Gorgias, for he had made in his youth several journies into other countries, and had resided there, as he says himself, *Epist. ad Jas. fil. p. 600, Bekker, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἄλλοθί πον διέτριβον*. If this however should have been the case, we could not thence conclude that he was the pupil of Gorgias in Thessaly about the 90th or 91st Olympiad, and that Gorgias was, during the whole of this time, absent from Athens; still less, if this also should be confirmed, that Gorgias was not, as I have alledged that he was, residing in Athens, and in great vogue, at the time of the exhibition of "the Birds." For here he had struck root, and the journey itself of Isokrates shows a long course of intimacy with him. Unless we admit this, the attacks upon him by name in "the Wasps" and in "the Birds" cannot be explained.

6. I do not think it likely that everything which the Scholiast of Hermogenes relates, on Gorgias' splendid performances in Athens, and on their results, can be compressed into his first residence there. Although the Scholiast does indeed contract into one journey the whole of Gorgias' connection with Athens, still his narrative is not inconsistent with distributing it over different periods. I do not however deny that all which is connected with the first impression which he made, and particularly the comparison of his harangues to the Lampadophoria, belongs to his first visit.

APPENDIX B.—p. 37.

IN Pausanias, X. 7, this statue is called ἐπίχρυσος εἰκὼν, but in Athenæus, XI. p. 505, d. the word is χρυσῆ, and in Philostratos, Vit. Soph. I. 9, χρυσοῦς, and in Cicero de Orat. III. 32, we read non inaurata statua sed aurea, as also in Pliny, IV. 33, 24, aurea statua et solida. According to Böckh, there is no contradiction between these expressions, as ἐπίχρυσος is used of works, in which hammered gold plates are laid on an interior model, and which may therefore be also called χρυσοῦς. On the other hand, that which was merely gilded was called κατὰχρυσος, inauratum, in contradiction to which Cicero calls the statue of Gorgias *aurea*. Compare Böckh's Public Economy of the Athenians, Part III. p. 282. Whether Pliny, by the word solida, meant to imply a statue of massive gold, we need not enquire; but probably in conformity with what is above said, it was an ἀνδριὰς σφυρήλατος, as statues of this kind usually were. A distant allusion to this statue, only placing it at Olympia instead of Delphi, appears also, as Böckh observes, in the reward which Phaidros (Plato Phæd. p. 236, b.) promises to Socrates for the speech he was to deliver, σφυρήλατος ἐν Ολυμπία στήθητι, if indeed the statue in question was set up earlier, and not just about the time when Plato composed his Gorgias, which the passage from Hermippos,

adduced by Athenæus, l. c. might lead us to think, though it does not necessarily require it, particularly as Hermippos is never much to be depended upon. The probability indeed arising from the similarity of the reward, for a performance similar to that of Gorgias, appears to me to gain additional strength from the preceding passage, p. 235, d. καὶ σοὶ ἐγὼ—*ὑπισχνοῦμαι χρυσὴν εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήσειν, οὐ μόνον ἐμαντοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ σήν*; and on a comparison of these two passages from the Phaidros, we may well conclude that a χρυσῇ εἰκων might also be σφυρήλατος.

APPENDIX C.—p. 40.

Too little weight is here given to the fact, that Alcibiades was also highly celebrated as a rhetorician. Plutarch (comp. Alcibiadis cum Coriolano, § 3, et Aristeid. cum M. Catone, § 2) applies to him what Antipatros had said of Aristotle: *πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ πείθειν εἶχεν*. Here then is a most strict coincidence between him and Gorgias. In addition to the name, there is also one expression founded upon the character of the part, which seems to point to Peisistratos. Only it is somewhat concealed by its form, which has perhaps been occasioned by the greater difficulty of the pronunciation; Aristophanes having changed to Peisthetairos that which ought by the analogy of Πεισίαναρξ to have been Πεισι-*τέταιρος*. Nor can the fact that the names, Peisthetairos and Euelpides, will admit of being explained by the characters given to them, be considered by Herr Foss as inconsistent with their more special reference. Other comic names are similarly circumstanced, as Triphales, Pheidippides. Aristophanes had just as good grounds for these designations, as when he gave the name of Euripides to the character of Euripides, the name of Kleon to that of Kleon, and the name of Socrates to the character of the teacher of sophistical subtlety.

APPENDIX D.—p. 42.

THE explanation of the character of Socrates in “the Clouds,” which Dr. Röscher has now more fully developed in his treatise on “Aristophanes and his Age,” and which I had called in question in my essay on that play, p. 70, on seeing the brief statement in which it first appeared, has not proved so convincing, as to induce me to give up the opinion which I then expressed. For even admitting the existence of that relation to the individual character or subjectivity of Socrates, which Dr. Röscher supposes, an opinion which, together with his other premises, I may for the present pass over, it not being my intention to enter now into a critical examination of his work, yet Dr. Röscher himself, and others who have written upon this subject, allow that there exists a great difference between this individual character of Socrates and that of the sophists. [One of these premises however, which I would particularly allude to, is *passive obedience*; but even if we can at all consider this as a principle of whole ages and nations, from the time when man, seduced by reflection, renounced his obedience to his great law-giver, in order to equal him in wisdom, that is, since the commencement of his race, yet is it certainly most inapplicable to republican institutions, which naturally invite men to discuss the merits of their laws and rulers.]

A system of thinking which is founded on fundamental principles of ethics, which must regulate the conduct of every thinking being alike, rises above the limits of finite individuality into the sphere of the abstract mind itself; whilst on the other hand he who regulates his own actions and those of others by personal and accidental rules, varying according to the circumstances of the moment, will remain for ever lost within the narrow limits of his sensual nature, and becomes an egotist on principle. This last was the system of the sophists, so widely different in its principles from that of Socrates, that in this point of view we cannot consider that there was any similarity between the two. But the peculiar method and principle of thinking, which was adopted by the sophists, was closely connected with their own peculiar sentiments and wishes; their philosophical egotism was founded on their moral selfishness, and the former therefore invented a system of dialectic and rhetorical technicalities, in order to assist the latter, and to gratify the selfish desires both of themselves and of others. It is known, and universally acknowledged, that the principles of Socrates were diametrically opposed to these. Human and divine right, morality and law, were venerated by him: he appealed to them in public as well as in private affairs; and he well knew how to unravel the web of captious and rhetorical artifices, by which selfishness endeavoured to palliate what was bad. In this respect therefore he can still less be identified with the sophists, and it is useless to speculate upon any moral connexion between the two. Consequently, even if Aristophanes had recognized in the Socratic philosophy that peculiar tendency, which is presumed in the theory of Dr. Röscher, (which, however, I

strongly doubt) still this is no reason for introducing him as the representative of the principle combated in "the Clouds;" and the profound justification of it which he pretends to have discovered, falls to the ground. Moreover, the principle against which the play of "the Clouds" is directed, is not that of abstract reasoning in general, but of reasoning applied to the service of improper desires; to which all the common-place sophisms which occur in the play are introductory; and their application, as the antient commentators have already remarked, is more rhetorical than philosophical; nor could it indeed be otherwise, since it was by the instrumentality of rhetoric, that this principle first acquired in Athens a dangerous influence in public and private affairs. This appears clear, as well from the plan which Strepsiades had formed, first, for pursuing his own studies in the school of subtlety, and afterwards in placing his son in it, as from the result originally proposed as the object of the institution, and which was afterwards accomplished, viz. the teaching how to turn right into wrong, and wrong into right; and still more so from the proofs which Pheidippides exhibits of his proficiency in the art.

This justification therefore of the choice of Socrates as the representative of sophistry, founded as it is upon his supposed concrete individuality, (private character and opinions) falls to the ground in whichever way we take it; and this admission may be made without detracting from the historical veracity of Aristophanes; for we may easily conceive him to have adhered to general historic truth, without representing every one of his comic heroes with perfect historical fidelity to their known moral characters. Those external reasons therefore which I have ad-

duced, alone remain, and these were evident and palpable not only to the poet, but what is here more to the purpose, to the people also; and there is therefore no occasion to go in search of a more refined explanation, which would have been unintelligible to the public, and could only have been understood by those who were familiar with deep philosophical researches.

Nor am I aware that I have contradicted, as Dr. R. avers, the admission which I have made in my essay on "the Clouds," of a certain formal resemblance between Sociates and the sophists, and which, I think, is sufficiently explained in pp. 5, 7, 11, 69. What I have said in p. 70 against the presumed essential affinity between the two cannot be so understood. I have further to observe, that when I am reproached for having misunderstood the real object of the poet of "the Clouds," I have only to refer to pp. 30 and 79 sq. of that essay, for a contradiction of this assertion, and for a proof that such accusation is entirely to be attributed to the want of a proper distinction between the purport of the play, and its dramatic form, coupled with a misunderstanding of the expression which I had used. Nor do I see on what grounds Dr. Rötcher supposes (obs. 348, 358) that the chorus at v. 1025, 1457 throw off their masks: the sentiments expressed in these passages do not justify such an opinion. The clouds had already divested themselves of their humid covering, before their entrance into the orchestra in female forms; but certainly not without some sensible manifestation of their real nature as clouds. (See v. 287, 325, 340, 355.)

APPENDIX E.—p. 45.

MY opinion on the characters of Peisthetairos and Euelpides, and their signification, is thus represented by Herr Foss, p. 30: “ Under the name of the first
“ are combined, and exposed to ridicule, Alcibiades and
“ Gorgias, (Alcibiadem et Gorgiam, uno Peisthetæri
“ nomine comprehensos, simul derideri) and by that
“ of Euelpides, in part Polos individually, and in part
“ the turbulent young men of Athens are signified.
“ (tum ipsum Polum tum ferocem juventutem Athe-
“ niensem significatam esse).” In place of contra-
dicting this statement, I shall only recommend the
perusal, with ordinary attention, of my explanation of
the two characters, and especially of what I have said,
pp. 41, 42, on that of Peisthetairos, and, pp. 45 and 46,
on that of Euelpides, and that these should be com-
pared with Herr Foss’ statement, in order to decide
whether my meaning has been there correctly and
fully reported, or whether the whole point of view
from which the characters have been adjudged, and
my explanation given, has not been distorted by a
partial conception of it. If I acknowledge some
especial references to certain individuals, as promi-
nent in the general historical and political signifi-
cation of these characters, (which I have not done in
reference to Euelpides; for in p. 46 I expressly admit
the absence of any definite application, or closer

reference to Polos) yet do I by no means pretend that such individuals were directly represented in these characters.

However, even if my explanation had been rightly understood, the assumption of Herr Foss, "that Gorgias and Polos have nothing whatever to do with the characters of Peisthetairos and Euelpides," would still be incompatible with it. To prove this, it must previously be shown that the general characteristic traits, on the accordance of which I ground, p. 34, l. 20, 31, and pp. 41, 42, the reference of Peisthetairos to Gorgias, (to speak only of him, as he is the most important, and Polos is here in every respect only an accessory) did in no way fit him. This would be the first and most essential position, as these traits run through the whole play, and might easily be seized by every Athenian, even if he did not understand all the particular allusions. Herr Foss however has not taken this line, but has only adduced three general arguments against me, and then attacked single points, in which I have seen allusions to Gorgias.

As to the first of these arguments, with which Herr Foss (p. 35) connects a special observation on pp. 33, 34 of the essay, namely, that the signs, which I think point to Gorgias and Polos, may in part fit other sophists equally with them; this is so little denied by me, that I characterize the part of Peisthetairos rather as a symbolical embodying of the whole sophistical principle in its political tendency and operation. Many individuals may have been here combined together. But is there any other sophist who can be compared with Gorgias as the father and master of the art of persuasive eloquence, and particularly in Athens? Is any other sophist more prominent than Gorgias for vanity and brilliancy, or for his celebrity

in this art throughout Greece? Did any other sophist than Gorgias exert his influence to excite the first practical demonstrations of the Athenians against Sicily? The second of these arguments, namely, that the points of allusion were so obscure and improbable, that they could only have been seized, even by the Athenians, sharp-sighted as they were, after long and difficult meditation, may be just in respect to particular and insulated traits. But the fundamental features of the character, which I have above enumerated, are so far from being obscure and unintelligible, that the application of the first can be difficult to no one, and the comprehension of the latter must be easy to all, who are once made aware of the leading idea of the play. Besides, the understanding of comic allusions is always something subjective—(i. e. it will depend on the feelings and opinions of the spectators)—the people, which, as F. A. Wolf once expressed himself, understood at half a twinkling of an eye, and which laughed at the holding up of the tip of a finger, as if afraid of being tickled, did not, as Aristophanes complains, understand “the Clouds;” and he himself asks for *σώφους* and *δείξιους θέατας*. To the third argument, that one cannot see why Aristophanes should have so studiously concealed his purpose of holding up to comic ridicule Gorgias and Polos, it might be answered, that this was an immediate consequence of the mysterious veil which was thrown over the main idea of the whole play, the grounds for which I have explained, p. 143-4. But this is not the case; for the essential traits which point to Gorgias are not so concealed; and, as I have observed, pp. 41 and 128, Aristophanes seems to have wished to give the key for the understanding of this view of the character, by an open attack upon

him by name just before the conclusion of the piece. I say nothing positive of Polos, as in my essay I treat Euelpides' reference to him as problematical, and I consider him in the character of an apt sophistical disciple and Famulus, a fit supplement to his master, and as doing a good service in the play.

In respect to particular points, I would willingly have waited to see, how what I have said in p. 26, and particularly how my mode of viewing these individual instances, are duly considered by the judges of my essay, and by Herr Foss. I am glad to find that in this explanation I agree with M. Spengel, who does not deny the possibility of a reference to Gorgias and Polos in "the Birds," and who very properly judges that so accurate a description of the foreigners was not necessary, in order to point them out to the spectators, as Herr Foss requires; and that if the drawing of the character, and the impression, which Aristophanes wished to produce, were in general just, and enough to hint at the person, much might be admitted under this mask, which in strictness does not maintain the resemblance. This will especially apply to Herr Foss' observations on the lines 30, 40, 42, 108, 320, 366, of the play; and in the course of my essay these are in great measure replied to and explained. The same may be said of the remarks on v. 114. As to what Herr Foss notices on v. 137 sq. I could have anticipated it, by the remark, that this trait is not so much borrowed from Gorgias, as from other sophists. But as Gorgias is expressly found in the society of the sophistical parasites of Kallias, i. e. the Κόλακες, (Meineke, Qu. sc. 1. p. 53) I might here say "*Noscitur a sociis.*" I grant too, that well grounded objections may be raised against many of these single points; and in accordance

with the foregoing explanation, I might give up several of these insulated allusions, without in the smallest degree detracting from my interpretation generally. The careful reader, if he attend to the course of my argument, will also find that I have endeavoured to give to my interpretation the same loose and easy keeping, particularly of passages which were not very clear, which the poem itself possesses throughout; and that I was fully aware, that this cheerful and volatile playfulness of the comic writer would be comprehended by a gay and lively fancy, but that his airy production must not be treated like a play-bill. I shall content myself with making this general reply to Herr Foss' remarks, as they have anticipated the publication of my treatise, and as many might otherwise be misled by them. One single point which appears to me of sufficient importance I shall discuss separately.

APPENDIX F.—p. 63. See also pp. 37 and 71.

HERR FOSS, p. 65, is of opinion that the funeral oration of Gorgias was only an epideiktic harangue, because the eulogy of those who had fallen in any particular battle could not have been committed to one who was not an Athenian. That this oration was delivered over those who had fallen at Orneai, I have only proposed as a very problematical conjecture; and it may have been by no means confined to them, but expressly extended to all who had fallen in the field, within a certain period of time. But I do not see why a foreigner, so distinguished as an orator as Gorgias was, might not have been selected to deliver this oration. Xenokrates, (Plut. Phocion, 29, fin.) one of the ambassadors sent by Antipatros, was engaged on a much more important affair of the city, and that at a time when it was a misdemeanour to introduce foreigners among the chorus on the stage. Plut. l. c. 27. Neither Thucyd. II. 34, nor Plato in the Menexenos, p. 234, assert that a foreigner could not be chosen to make the funeral oration before the Βούλη. The words of the former are ἀνὴρ (not πολίτης) ἡρημένος; the latter has αἰρεῖσθαι ὅστις, κ. τ. λ. Nor is there any ground for interpreting the passage of Philostratos upon Gorgias' funeral oration, which Herr Foss refers to all Athenian citizens who had ever died in the wars, as if the speech must have

had this very general and indefinite application. That passage contains no general expression of the kind, beyond the statement that it was the constant practice; οὐς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίᾳ ξὺν ἐπαίνοις ἔθαψαν. On the contrary, as Philostratos says εἴρηται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πεσοῦσι, so does Plato, in the Menexenos, express himself in general terms, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι, notwithstanding that he is at the time speaking of one particular public interment. Nor is there any better ground for Herr Foss' interpretation of the words σοφία δὲ ὑπερβαλλοῦσθι ξύγκειται, as if Gorgias availed himself of what was the proper object of the speech, the praise of those who had fallen in their country's cause, to pursue his own personal object, to excite the Athenians against the Persians. Philostratos, in the passage to which I refer p. 62 of the essay, has shown clearly enough in what consisted the art and address of Gorgias in the conception of this speech. This writer appears to me rather to speak both of the oration and of its purpose, in terms which make it impossible to take the latter for a fiction, or to consider the former as less seriously meant than that which was spoken at Olympia.

It is by no means my wish, as Herr Foss, p. 35, alledges, to represent the speech of Peisthetairos in "the Birds" as a parody on this harangue. Whoever will read p. 62 of the essay, can have no doubt respecting my meaning. But whether Aristophanes had also at the time this funeral oration of Gorgias uppermost in his mind, is perfectly immaterial to my explanation of the play in its general import. It is not impossible also that many things may have occurred to the poet, out of the speech which Gorgias had made as ambassador from Leontini. But as to Herr Foss' objections to my hypothesis. I can reply to the first,

what I have already said in the essay, that the very words of Philostratos, ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἦν κτήσασθαι μὴ τὸ ἐραστήριον αἰρουμένοις, seem to imply that Gorgias' funeral oration took place at a crisis when the Athenians had a great enterprize in hand, like that of Sicily, (by which they sought to revive their political power, now in its wane) on which account the orator does not think it advisable, to urge them to unite with the other Greeks. Further, the supposition of Herr Foss, that Gorgias, in his speech, only praised the heroes of the Persian wars, whose monuments were erected in the Kerameikos, is based on an incorrect rendering of Philostratos' words, τῶν Μηδικῶν τροπαίων, which could never mean the victors themselves, but only the victories they had gained, or the monuments raised in their honour. The only sense in which I can understand this passage in Philostratos, is that, whilst he attaches to those trophies the eulogy of the victories themselves, for which they were erected, and the praise also of those heroes to whom they were erected, he means to point out to them, from the fact that trophies of this kind had been raised, and that none had been raised for victories over the Greeks, that they had cause for triumph only for victories over the barbarians, but they should mourn for those obtained over their own countrymen. If in fine Gorgias speaks only of victories, but Peisthetairos of dominion, this partly belongs (in respect to the dominion over Hellas) to the references to the speeches made on the occasion of the Sicilian expedition, and which are adduced in pages 62, 63 of the dissertation, partly (in respect to the dominion over the barbarians) to the characteristic extravagances of this description mentioned in the 65th page of the essay, which are to be found in the teachers of eloquence, (com-

pare Aristeid. Panath. p. 152, 10) and which were pre-eminent in Gorgias. The observation of M. Spengel, to which I have above alluded, is applicable to this, and to the other arguments of Herr Foss. The comparison is too earnestly probed, as if parodies of this nature were to be made with the copying machine. The same is the case in respect to the expression of the peculiarities of Gorgias in the speech of Peisthetairos, (F. p. 35 sq.) which I think I have sufficiently explained in pp. 68, 69 of the essay. I here only observe, in reply to Herr Foss, that the exclamation of Gorgias, Ἥλις πόλις εὐδαίμων, in the opening of his Eleian speech, and in strict conformity with the expressive words of Aristotle εὐθὺς ἀρχεται, is an exact counterpart of the μεγὰ καὶ λαρινὸν ἔπος, which forms the commencement of that of Peisthetairos, though neither the one nor the other bear any resemblance to an exordium.

APPENDIX G.—p. 89.

ON the new arrangement of the lines in the passage of “the Frogs,” 1431 sq. ed. Teubn. which relates to Alcibiades, and which Dindorf proposes in his edition of Æschylos, Lips. 1827, p. ix. sq. I beg, at the private suggestion of Herr Dindorf himself, to observe, first, that, as is shown by my essay on “the Clouds,” p. 47, I was well aware that the reading ἥν εἴ’ ἐκτρέφῃ τις is rendered “but if one has brought up (a lion;)” but I think this cannot be right, because the subject to χρὴ in the first of the three lines, which I maintain are closely connected with one another, is not τινὰ, but πόλιν, understood in ἐν πόλει. The poet does not speak, and could not speak of any individual bringing up a lion, but that a whole state ought not, *publicè*, to bring up one, as Athens had done in the case of Alcibiades. But I cannot see how the first of the three lines, Οὐ χρὴ—τρέφειν, should be interpreted as proposed by H. Dindorf, and not the second and third, Μάλιστα μὲν — ὑπερετεῖν, as the converse might equally be assumed. Nor is there any apparent necessity for connecting these three lines with those which follow. The question respecting Alcibiades is complete with them; and this makes it improbable that, in case the following lines, which refer to some totally different question, are out of place, those also should be dis-

turbed. They were in the same order as at present in the earliest MSS. and give a very good sense, which I have defended, and which I the more maintain, as σκύμνος is too frequently used for a lion's whelp, (see, amongst others, Ælian Nat. an. VII. 47; IV. 34; III. 21. Hom. Il. XVIII. 319.) for us not to take it as such here; and it suits the gradation or climax in the next line, agreeing too with ἐκτραφῆ, the reading of all the MSS. But as to the lines 1437-1441, I am inclined to suppose after 1441, a question put by Bacchus to Euripides, whether he did not know some more serious, graver counsellor, one who was more fit to be driven altogether out of the city, (such as, perhaps, Οὔτοι μὲν ἐκτυφλοῖντ' ἄν· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἔχεις Ὅτι ἄν τελέσαντες δημοσίως σωζοίμεθ' ἄν : compare 1450) to which the present line, 1442, Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα, &c. was the first answer. I think it more likely that such a question may have been left out, than that these, together with the lines 1552 and 1553, were not genuine, or than the alternative proposed by Dindorf, for leaving out 1449 and 1450. Why this last line should be omitted I can conceive no reason whatever. It is to be observed that Æschylos expresses his meaning on two following occasions. First, in 1458 and 1459, he declares the city to be irredeemable. Then in 1460, Bacchus asks him to find out some mode by which it may recover itself; and by way of contrast to Euripides, who, in line 1442, is ready at the instant to give the advice which is asked of him, Æschylos wishes to put off the business till his return to the upper world; but on the beautiful exhortation, in line 1462, to send blessings from the lower world to his fellow-citizens, he does give his advice. There is thus what may be called a parallelism in the management of this question.

APPENDIX H.—p. 223.

PHOTIUS, Lex. v. Τριβαλλοί. In the passage there quoted from Demosthenes, adv. Conon. p. 1349, (ed. Bekker) it is mentioned that certain vulgar and ill-bred individuals went by the name of Τριβαλλοί. A few observations occur on the language of this Triballian ambassador; though it is of no further interest, than as conducing to a more perfect intelligence of all the comic notions of the poet, as these were understood by the public of his time. What he says in v. 1572, "Εξεις ἀτρέμας, is perfectly good Greek: and it is equally clear that καλάνι κόραννα, &c. are Greek words purposely corrupted. The same is the case with Ναβαισατρεῦ, v. 1615, and Σαννάκα βακταρικροῦσα, v. 1628. This last word is evidently compounded of Βακτάριον and κρούω, and must be an infinitive, as σαῦνα can scarcely be anything but σέ, and κα must stand for καὶ. The diphthong αυ seems to be a favourite sound with the Triballian, as he uses it to drawl out κόραννα and βασιλιναῦ. And thus the expression Σε καὶ βακταρικροῦσαι (δοκεῖ μοι being understood) seems a very appropriate answer to the preceding question of Hercules. Hercules had said "Ο Τριβαλλος, οἰμώζειν δοκεῖ σοι; to which the other replies, I should like to give thee a good beating. And we must suppose that the Triballian had provided himself with a βακτήριον. Ναβαισατρεῦ also

seems to be a compound of two words; *ναβαῖσα*, the infinitive of *ἀναβαίνειν*, and *τρεῦ* for *τρεῖς*. This infinitive too depends upon the question which has been put by Neptune: *Τί καὶ σὺ φής;* and the answer is, that we three ambassadors (*τρεῖς ὄντες ἡμεῖς*, v. 1582) should return, that is *εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν*, (v. 1686) just as Neptune had said, v. 1636, *ἀπιώμεν οἴκαδ' αὐθις*. The comic humour of this part of the play consists in always interpreting the words of the Triballian contrary to their meaning, just as is done with Pseudartabas in "the Acharnians," v. 108 and 102. The language too of this last is in like manner distorted. In line 104, *Οὐ λῆψι χρῦσο* is evidently a Greek gibberish. The same may be said of line 100, on which much useless pains have been bestowed to explain it from the Persian. See Wolf on "the Acharnians" of Aristophanes, p. 54. *Ἰαρταμὲν ἔξαρχ' ἀναπισσόναί σατρά* is probably nothing else than *Ἡ μὲν τὸν Αρταξέρξην ἀναπέσαι σαθρόν*; or, "It is in truth a dirty worn out subject, to ask Artaxerxes for money." This king, whose name is disguised by the simple insertion of *μὲν*, reigned in Persia at the time of the exhibition of "the Acharnians;" for he died Ol. 88—4. Thucyd. IV. 50; Diod. XII. 64.

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~~Aristochanes~~

Süvern, J.W.

Two essays on "The clouds and on "The

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